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FRANK SINATRA
He Did It His Way

Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

MAY 25, 1998

RAPE IN THE MILITARY

BY JANE O'HARA

On the night of Feb. 7, 1992, Dawn Thomson's dream collapsed. She was a 19-year-old navy recruit who wanted to be a doctor. A brutal sexual assault and the indifference of her superiors drove her from the Canadian Forces. A *Maclean's* investigation reveals that she is not alone.



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JAGUAR
A new Breed of Cars

CANADA'S
WEEKLY
NEWS MAGAZINE

MAP 26, 1958: VCS, 111 NO. 21

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CANADIAN OVER 14

WPC 2010 200

Polls show Protestant support, demanding for the Northern Ireland peace agreement is a referendum approaches. Latest polls threaten Indonesian President Suharto's hold on power.

● 2013 年 12 月 1 日

Diagram's boss Edgar Bronfman Jr. has Timotheus on a cozy, new rules budget report mutual fund manager.

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Mobile-based Moxtime Telephone and Telegraph Co. offers Web surfers not only speed, but software on demand.

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JANUARY 1997

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A Vancouver woman is accused of having an affair with a defendant while serving as a juror in a murder trial—and of influencing other jurors to find her lover not guilty.

Abstract 20

High-school science is moving from rickety school labs to spiffy corporate ones—and making fresh discoveries along the way

PHIL M. B.

CANTERA, APRIL 1997

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ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM 63

Maclean's on the Internet
<http://www.macleans.ca>

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Women, who now account for 6,800 of the Canadian Forces' 60,513 members, are often little more than game for sexual predators. A *Macleod's* investigation reveals that many have left the service because superiors ignored or dismissed their formal complaints.

30

India's surprise nuclear tests rattled its neighbors and provoked global condemnation. But Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee's popularity surged.



60

Aimed the hoopla of the 52nd Cannes film festival, Canadian director Don McKellar's *Last Night* has crashed an early bap-



52

He did it his way

Frank Sinatra died at 82, dominated the popular music scene for decades. His career longevity was as celebrated as his life; often was referred to as "The Chairman of the Board."

From The Editor

A wake-up call for the brass



She looked, well, old enough to be my daughter. When Dawn Thomson visited the Maclean's office last week with her husband, her winsome face did not betray the horrors she had endured—from the sexual assault when she was a teenage recruit in the Canadian Forces to the almost total indifference of her superiors who punished her—not her attacker Thomson, 35, still recovering from her ordeal, one of several documented in this week's cover story about rape in the military. But her courage in speaking out sheds light on an agenda problem confronting the chief of the defence staff, Maurice Baril, as the service mounts a glibby campaign to recruit females. The real message that emerges if you are young, female and entering the Forces, beware.

The Maclean's investigation identified 27 cases of sexual assault and resulted in 13 interviews. No one knows if the reports amount to a systematic pattern. By the same measure, no one knows that they do not. Among the 13 cases, there is one, indeed, the victim's name, usually away from justice for the first time—and all felt that they had to leave the service in search of justice.

When action was taken, typically, the allegations were reviewed internally, usually, there were no formal records. Often, when asked about specific cases, authorities involved told Maclean's that the sex was consensual—accounts vehemently denied by the 13 women. There was a "boys-will-be-boys" air about the treatment of women in the Forces. A former basic commander casually told Maclean's that it was unfortunate that one victim did not have a

boyfriend. "The first thing she would do," he explained, "was tell the boyfriend and then the boyfriend would have gone and put a beating on the guy and that would have been the end of it. That's the usual way these things work out."

What planet are these men on? Can anyone imagine any work place where a woman should assume that she will be assaulted in a routine part of her assignment—and that she needs a male goon to get justice?

All some bosses, many female recruits routinely visit out only in twos and threes at night, sticking to well-lit areas. One of the worst places is Camp Borden, near Toronto. And as far after-hours parties, most sensible women did an exercise to stay away—especially when their legendary supervisors are going to be drinking and leaving.

The senior command and the government no longer can ignore the situation. To date, the efforts to introduce sexual

harassment policies have been halfhearted. It is time for a three-pronged plan to conduct in concert hearings across Canada—with no military brass present—to allow women to come forward and tell their stories in confidence, without fear of the loss of morale and inflexibility they now face. It is time for our daughters and sisters and mothers to assume their place in Canada's armed forces—free from fear and loathing.

Robert Lewis

Newsroom Notes:

Getting the story

I started with a phone call to Senior Writer Jane O'Hare. The editor, a former servicewoman in the Marines, had read the stories that O'Hare and a team of Maclean's writers had produced for Maclean's April 13 cover story—"Fighting mad"—about the anger in the Canadian military over poor pay and squalid housing. She told O'Hare about being sexually assaulted during basic training. She knew another woman who had been raped at CFB Esplanade in British Columbia. That victim, in turn,



Kaprielian and O'Hare: Learning experiences.

led to two others who had been raped in Halifax. Over the next 144 weeks, O'Hare—assisted by Montreal Bureau Chief Brenda Scanwell, Senior Writer Sherry Doyle Dineley, Associate Editor Stephanie Nelson and Researcher Reporter Sandra Duceal—identified 27 separate cases of sexual abuse and tracked down 13 of the victims. "Some were hard to find," says O'Hare. "They were out of the military and married. Some hadn't told their husbands." For moral, it was the first time they had talked publicly about their horrendous experience. They told the Maclean's reporters that the assaults had changed their lives forever. "Each remembered it as though it was yesterday," says O'Hare. "And each recalled how the military had made them think it was all their fault—that they were the cause and should keep their mouths shut." The stories were edited by Senior Editor Peter Kaprielian.



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Casino Mogul: gambling is not the answer to our debt problem

The impact of casinos

I have found it surprising that governments have introduced into yet another revenue-generating scheme by using advantages of people's weaknesses ("The curse of casinos," *Coast*, May 14). For the past few decades, governments have been responsible for half the cost associated with the price of alcohol and tobacco. The irony is that the government gladly accepts the revenue the sales generate and yet complains that tobacco is an addictive substance, can cause cancer and can kill. It shouldn't be too long now before we hear government-sponsored ads advising us of the costs associated with gambling, all the while reaping billions of dollars in income.

Peter White,
Victoria

The focus on the effects of gambling addiction was presented without any attempt at objectivity or balance. The following facts were not included in the story: A thorough analysis of problem gambling indicates that the prevalence of addiction remains in the range of one to two per cent of the adult population, regardless of the type of gambling involved or whether gambling is run legally

or properly regulated. Publicly available statistics from Harvard University and the University of Windsor have proved this and were omitted in your article. In addition, casinos have a social benefit. In words of Thomas Merton of the Windsor chapter of the Canadian Mental Health Association, told to the *Sunrise Observer*: "The positive impacts of [casinos] far outweigh the negative from what we can see. There's always going to be a social impact, but the casino has put people to work and the economic growth has really been a boon." Finally, the Casino government will provide \$80 million to assist with problem gambling.

Paul Clavette,
Executive Director, Greater Victoria
Gaming Operators' Association,
Victoria

The recent Alberta Lotteries and Gaming Summit '98 was a public relations exercise to get the government off the hook for the problems that gambling is creating in our society. One-quarter of the people at the summit were gambling and VLT operators who are making money—big money—from the addictions of their customers. They were very vocal in suggesting policies for the government to adopt. In any other situation, those who profit from the policies they are proposing would acknowledge they were in conflict of interest. A four-page ad placed by *Stakeholders* Alberta in *The Edmonton Journal* recently suggested that only 1.4 per cent of the gambling population became addicted. Even if that means only a few thousand people become compulsive gamblers, do we as a society waste their self as not worth worrying about?

Dan Meyer,
Edmonton

After reading your very informative story, my immediate thought was that a copy should be sent to every MP, provincial legislator and mayor across Canada for record-keeping. Surely there is enough evidence that legalized gambling is not the answer to our debt problem.

Kay Isaac,
Alfred Bay, B.C.

Childbirth mortality

Karen Hodgson correctly points out that educated women in developing countries have fewer children and that newborn and infant mortality rates drop accordingly ("Foreign aid and population," *The Road Ahead*, May 4). While the loss of young children at a later delivery is undeniably tragic, we should not forget that 650,000 poor, undernourished and illiterate women lose their own lives yearly in the global killing field of childbirth. Every 64 seconds, somewhere in the world, a woman dies having a baby. Gross illiteracy, cultural constraints, poverty, government indifference (and worse) result in non-existent family planning and not even rudimentary prenatal care. As a result, these unfortunate souls have far more babies to soon. Urgently required in these countries is the construction of a perinatal health-care delivery system based on an infrastructure of well-trained professionals, hospitals/clinics facilities, telecommunications, roads, transport, electrical power and the provision of clean water. The reduction of cultural constraints and the reduction of illiteracy will allow the application of effective family planning. Given sufficient political will, the solution can be provided by a collaboration of the concerned country's government, the World Health Organization, UNICEF and the World Bank together with the well-honed experience of Canadian obstetricians and paediatricians.

Dr. James Goodwin,
Chief, department of obstetrics
and gynecology,
Toronto Regional Hospital,
Toronto, Ont.

Hepatitis C victims

The federal government's response to the hepatitis C scandal is unconvincing ("The shame game," *Canada's Special Report*, May 18). First, the government agreed earlier to screen the country's blood supply, then they issued warnings that the blood supply might be tainted. When the scandal broke, the blood supply agencies were only concerned that no illness would attach to them. The Liberals boast of a budget surplus. Why don't they apply some of it to compensate all victims of hepatitis C?

Joanne Jones,
London, Ont.

It should come as no surprise that Federal Health Minister Allan Rock "Stood his ground" on the hepatitis C package. As most



(**nerve centre**)

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Opening Notes

Edited by
TANYA DAPRES

A surprise guest from Hollywood

For the 15 members of the Saint John, N.B., band and of Hearing Association who attended the recent award show dinner in honor of Hearing Awareness Month, the fundraiser was a nice enough idea. But it became an extraordinary evening when a surprise guest from Hollywood walked in. Before bedtime got started at the event—sponsored by the Saint John radiology services company Audiotape Ltd., owned by Puffinbarger Hill, Conservative party assistant Bill Eaton and his wife, Norma—dest ex-wife Martin Mullin turned up. So, while 138 guests, including local Free Press John Brown, joined in the auction, those with hearing aids were in the crowd for one reason or another. "The deaf people were happy to be there," says Eaton, "but when Martin walked in, that was it."



Martin Mullin, the hearing-impaired, in Saint John

of a Lesser Golf (1989). Mullin, 33, was in Saint John to act in the movie in September. "He showed up after filming all day," says Eaton, "talked to the crowd for five minutes, and then spent the next two hours signing and laughing with the deaf. It was a relief to see them, psychodrama-like, in their own event." A host action where everyone had the winning bid.

Emporium

Percentage of adults surveyed by the Harris Research Group who say they use the Internet for information purposes: 12

Percentage of Ontario drivers in a Co-op survey

GOLDFARB POLL

Candidates would rather be in jail than sitting in money, but wealth is more important to men than women. A satisfying sex life, not surprisingly, is most important to the young, while being attractive is particularly important to seniors. The importance of candidates place on various qualities, gold and silver, on a scale of 0 to 100, with 0 meaning not important at all and 100 meaning extremely important.

	Average	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65 & up	Male	Female
Being in jail	88	50	83	85	86	76	85	87
Having children	86	82	83	77	52	78	80	80
Being attractive	73	75	73	70	76	85	72	77
Having a satisfying sex life	73	84	76	74	67	58	77	68
Doing well in life	53	63	56	53	48	44	58	46

Source: Harris Research, February 1995

Goldfarb Research Inc. Report

DOUBLE TAKE

Elizabeth Manley

Elizabeth Manley is talking on the telephone and putting her legs—a couple of women named Phyllis and Sandra. But the dogs are playing off. "They think I'm strange," she laughs. And no wonder. The 33-year-old Canadian figure skater in Olympic order medalist at the 1988 Calgary Winter Games is so busy performing in competing that she is rarely home. In October, Manley moved into a new house in Las Vegas, after being based for five years in Palm Desert, Calif.

In order to be closer to her choreography, she moved to Las Vegas. But she has spent only about a month there. "Everybody thinks Elizabeth Manley is the craziest skater out there because I just don't stop," she says. Manley's schedule has precluded marriage, even a serious relationship. She was married in 1990, but called off the wedding three years ago, she felt. "I lived in a log-cabin house in White Rock, B.C., for her mother Joan, a retired civil servant. She grew up in a ranch that all I ever wanted to do was to prove myself enough money to buy my own house," says Manley, noting that her parents—father Bernie, a retired nuclear officer in Ottawa—are divorced.

Manley first slipped on a pair of skates at 16 and began competing at 16. Within two years she was winning most of the competition she entered. After the Olympics, she spent five years with the Ice Capades, appearing in more than 1,200 shows, but since 1990 has competed and performed as a freestyle skater. "I have to be able to skate for my next week," says Manley, who began a 13-city Canadian tour as May 11. "It's one of those industries that makes her keep up on the back of your neck."



The champ covering

Listening in P.E.I.

Prince Edward Island is usually associated with images of Aneurin Bevan, the Welsh socialist politician. But it has become a place of political intrigue. On April 7, Keith Milligan, leader of the opposition Liberals, claimed in the legislature that the Conservative Party had been involved in a "party of" for the 1995 election. The allegation sparked an abusive debate in the Island's assembly—the Liberals demanding an inquiry and the Tories alleging a senior campaign.

Milligan claims his information came from several anonymous civil servants. The government of Premier Jim Smith has denied the accusation. But the Tories' accusation that the Workers' Compensation Board used personal phone data logs to review its employees' working calls in an effort to find out who leaked a WCB report to the Liberals.

Meanwhile, Smith has declared the matter closed. Milligan is trying to get his sources to speak out. And the intrigue continues.

Capital Confidential

Third River, Tobin is quite a seismist. Back in January, the Newfoundland premier convinced Ontario's Mike Harris to consider investing in the \$12-billion hydro-power development on the Lower St. Lawrence River—a controversial project that has kept both provinces in a heated state war back and forth for several months. But nothing seemed to come from it. The problem, Ontario's Harris, which is being recognized for a possible sell-off, has not followed up on the plan. Harris, at least, is still interested enough that he asked the idea himself last week in an interview with *Maclean's*. Asked if he was considering investing in Churchill Falls, Harris replied: "I don't think I'm giving away trade secrets. We're talking to them."

There are significant risks, including the long-distance transmission lines that are subject to the whims of Quebec residents. The benefits to the Ontario province of this power project, and by investing in Churchill some of what it would pay would flow back in the form of dividends. Harris noted the idea of an Ontario investment in the context of the provinces working together without, in his view, the political risks that New Brunswick's perspective, that at just not on "We need Ontario for the northern part of the province," a senior Newfoundland official says, referring to the \$2-billion undersea cable to deliver power to the Rockies. "But Ontario is still welcome for the stuff flowing west."



Milligan claims of party surveillance

BEST-SELLERS

- FIC/THRILLER**
1. *A Woman in the Sea*, John Grisham (13)
 2. *Black and Blue*, Anne Douglas (12)
 3. *It's in the Water*, Anne Douglas (11)
 4. *Satanstoe*, Robert Coles (10)
 5. *The Street Lawyer*, John Grisham (9)
 6. *Amnesty*, William Bradford Huie (8)
 7. *Witness*, John Grisham (7)
 8. *Love's Labor Lost*, William Bradford Huie (6)
 9. *Barney's Version*, Michael Ondaatje (5)
 10. *Paradise Lost*, John Grisham (4)
- NONFICTION**
1. *The 100th Year*, Thomas H. Ince (13)
 2. *Simple Questions*, David J. Rothman (12)
 3. *Angels in the Flesh*, David J. Rothman (11)
 4. *The Mind of the Machine*, John Grisham (10)
 5. *The Mind of the Machine*, John Grisham (9)
 6. *The Mind of the Machine*, John Grisham (8)
 7. *The Mind of the Machine*, John Grisham (7)
 8. *The Mind of the Machine*, John Grisham (6)
 9. *The Mind of the Machine*, John Grisham (5)
 10. *The Mind of the Machine*, John Grisham (4)

11. *Positive and Negative*, David J. Rothman

Tumbleweed tales

Ten years ago this month, a legendary frontier story-writer Louis L'Amour died, after writing more than 100 novels on the American West. L'Amour's death is being celebrated with a collection of essays, some before-published stories, and one short novel that L'Amour's son, Steve, found among his father's notes.

POP MOVIES

Sundance romance

Based on the 1995 novel of the same name, the movie *Witness* is an old-fashioned romance starring Anthony Hopkins and Kelly McGillis. The film is a love story about a man and a woman who fall in love.

Scott Thomas, author of *Witness*, who has the gift of drawing emotionally troubled horses. After *Witness* Thomas' book, his horse, *Witness*, was sold to a private collector.

- Best of the Best* (1995) \$3,595,000
- Witness* (1995) \$3,595,000
- The 100th Year* (1995) \$3,595,000
- The 100th Year* (1995) \$3,595,000
- The 100th Year* (1995) \$3,595,000
- The 100th Year* (1995) \$3,595,000
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- The 100th Year* (1995) \$3,595,000

Passages

DIED: One of the most influential singers in American music, **Frank Sinatra**, 83, of a heart attack, in Los Angeles. Starting as a teen idol in the 1930s, the Hoboken, N.J., native recorded more than 200 albums during his career, including such signature songs as "New York, New York" and "My Way." In 1955, he starred in the film *From Here to Eternity*, winning an Oscar, and reuniting a flailing career.



SINATRA: A LEGENDARY SINGER

Married four times, Sinatra was known for a lavish lifestyle and his ties to organized crime. (page 52)

DIED: Movie star **Alice Faye**, 83, of stomach cancer, in Rancho Mirage, Calif. Faye made 32 films between 1935 and 1945, including Alexander's *Heavenly Creatures*. She was married to **Tommy Faye**, who quit the entertainment industry to raise her two daughters, becoming one of the few movie stars to reject stardom.

DIED: **Mossie Mitchell**, 76, widow of **W. O. Mitchell**, of cancer, at her home in Calgary. Mitchell was an actress and radio performer in Edmonton, before starting her own radio station in 1942. He died in February.

DIED: Author and environmentalist **Marjory Stansfield Douglas**, 104, at her home in Miami. Known as the patron saint of the Florida Conservationists, Douglas' campaign to preserve the Everglades started in the 1940s. Her 1947 call to arms, *The Everglades: River of Grass*, became a best-seller and has never been out of print.

DIED: Dominican politician **José Peña Gómez**, 61, of pancreatic and stomach cancer, in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. The three-time presidential candidate was one of the most prominent black political figures in Latin America.

AWARDED: The 1998 Canadian Authors Association/Chapman Award for Fiction, to Ontario's **Lita Donawick**, 43, for her book *Landscapes*, in Ottawa.

HONORED: Singer **Lauri Gowan**, 36, with an invitation to perform at the Princess of Wales Tribute Concert on June 27 in Albany, Ontario. Gowan, who joins artists **Chris de Burgh** and **Shirley Woe**, is the only Canadian participant.

RAPE IN THE MILITARY

Women who have suffered sexual assault in the Canadian Forces are speaking out—and saying that their cases represent a systematic pattern of abuse



Thomson (opposite), (above, from left) Scapellato, Newman, Cameron; (below) the victims were often not believed and they—not the perpetrators—were punished by officers who looked the other way

BY JANE O'HARA

Dawn Thomson remembers peering up at the windows of Nelles Barracks when she arrived for her first posting at CFB Esquimalt in Victoria in January, 1992. She saw a wall of men's faces—then came the hollering and the catcalls, a cacophony of sexual innuendo and gutter talk. "We were referred to as fresh meat more than once," she noted in her diary. Back then, Thomson was a smart and smiling 19-year-old from Peterborough, Ont., anxious to start her naval signsmith's course at the Fleet School and hoping that, some day, the navy would put her through medical school. "I wanted to be somebody," she says. The dream collapsed on the night of Feb. 7, when she awoke from sleep to find one sailor raping her and another—a man she considered a trusted friend—looking on laughing. "I was in his room," she says. "He had brought me there because there'd been a big party and everyone was hammered. He said I'd be safer there than in my own room. I felt so betrayed."

She is not alone. *Macleod's* has interviewed 13 women who say they were the victims of sexual assault in the Canadian military—and that their cases may represent a pattern of sexual harassment and assault of Canada's servicewomen. Most of the incidents took place in the 1990s, after the military began its program of fully integrating women into the armed forces. And many of them reveal a systematic mishandling of sexual assault cases: investigations were perfunctory, the victims were not believed and often they—not the perpetrators—were punished by senior officers who either looked the other way or actively tried to impede investigations. And in the opinion of many of the women victims, the abuse they suffered is as shocking as the Scottish scandal, when members of the Canadian Airborne Regiment tortured and killed a Somali teenager in 1995.

The cases also reveal a culture—particularly in the army and combat units—of unbridled promiscuity, where harassment is common, heavy drinking is a way of life, and women,

who now account for 6,890 of the Canadian Forces' 60,513 members, are often 80% more than paid for sexual predators. Spokesmen for the department of national defence—which is now in the middle of a \$15-million campaign to entice more women into the Forces—say that recent efforts to deal with harassment have improved relations between the genders. Critics, though, say these efforts cannot eradicate a way of thinking that has existed for decades—and ease the situation of women in the Canadian Forces (page 28). Says one former member of the military police: "I knew male military police who made a game out of seeing how many new recruits they could seduce in bed. They'd talk about it right at the front counter. What if they got caught? They didn't care. They'd say, 'Charge me. I'll just be.' They became so accustomed to that phrase."

In Dawn Thomson's case, the Feb. 7, 1992, sexual assault was only the beginning of a traumatic experience: The next morning, crying, bleeding and in such pain she could barely

Military assault victims may suffer more than civilians

walk, she was taken to the base hospital by a female friend. There, Lucie Bonnie Henry, a doctor now retired from the Veterans and working in San Diego, Calif., examined her for sexual assault, known as military jargon as the rape kit. In a department of national defense hospital emergency report dated Feb. 6, 1993, Henry wrote, "Rape kit obtained, physical exam conducted. MPA [military police] turned over to Master Cpl. Ross Leisher." After the exam, Thomson gave a statement to Leisher, the military policeman in charge of the investigation. The next day, Thomson called Leisher and the MP told her she had no case—that he believed her alleged assaults when they claimed she had willingly had sex that night. But a source close to the investigation told Meade that the man later actually inquired openly about what they had done. "What they did to her was wrong, there's no question about that," says the source.

At 19, frightened and unsure of how the system works, Thomson agreed not to press charges. Instead, she stood herself on the receiving end, two weeks after reporting the rape. Thomson, back at West School, was taken out of class, marched to the chief of West School's office and charged with being on the army's floor after 11 p.m. It was information he had taken



Meade: In many ways, these rapes were like assault

'NOBODY CAME TO HELP'

Private Elaine Jones (just her real name) was sexually assaulted in 1997. She asked that her identity be concealed because her brother is still in the military and she fears reprisals against her story.

"I happened at my first big gathering at the army which is off the base. Half of us were privates. We were 18 and so we were just allowed to have alcohol, but some of alcohol had been brought in by the cadre officers. At one point, one of the officers grabbed me and threw me over his shoulder. He brought me into this little underground area, and he started groping me. He went down the front and the back. At first it seemed like a game. He was laughing and all the other guys were laughing—but when he threw me down on the floor I didn't think it was a joke any more. I gave him a shot to the face—it was yelling at him to get off and I yelled rape. Then he pulled up my top and pulled down my pants. It was a complete sexual assault, it was horrible.

I was screaming, but it was very loud, high-level yelling. There were people working. And this military, the fighting—military personnel have I had seen some soldiers put another girl's head through a window—they used him like a battering ram. Nobody came to help me. I hope they didn't hear me, and none of just decided, 'Oh, well, we're not going to interrupt him.' When he finished he said 'OK,' and those guys left the door. They obviously knew what they were there for. The next day, I told my brother what had happened. He is one of

the guys in the upper echelons of the staff. He was appalled at her treatment. "That was wrong, the way they made her perform duties with that soldier and take that verbal abuse," he says. "I complained about it to my superiors, but they said it was out of their hands."

Even after the punishment, Thomson told to soldier in. She underwent successful treatment for alcoholism, finished first

the reasons I joined the military. I wanted him to tell me who I should report this to. I didn't know—it seemed to me that everybody knew and didn't care, and the very people you'd report it to were the people who were doing it. I thought I'd have my brother's support because he seemed open, very real. Then he told me not to complain. He said it was his hope to women who came into the military he told me to accept it and get over it—until you were to be hated here," he said. "But if you have any intention of making this your career, then you don't do that. It's only going to hurt you—and it's only going to hurt me." He said if people find out his sister complained and up being quoted or leaving because they'd be so hard on him.

At that point, I thought, "Well, this is the last for women—surviving. I've gone through and I've gone through again." Then a couple of months later I went to another one of these parties and I saw another woman go through the same thing it was a different guy, but he did the same thing: threw her over his shoulder and walked her into that area and the guys blocked the door. I was when I got to this part of the story because I didn't do anything. I started to walk to that kitchen, looked at the two guys guarding the door and just stopped.

I didn't do anything—and then why? I decided to get the military that night. I had to make the choice to stay and tolerate it or leave because there's not anything you can do about it. Which is too bad because I wanted to be in the combat area—I think I'm a tough person with a tough attitude. I put it in for a voluntary release the next morning.

from her statement to Leisher. "They said my own complaint to charge me," says Thomson, who was paid \$250.

For 21 days, she was also confined to barracks—along with the men who she says sexually harassed her. Charged with having a woman in the men's quarters after 11 p.m., he served his 21-day sentence in a room close to barracks. For that time, she was forced to sleep alongside him and to stand beside him during roll call. Each day the army officers humiliated her further by ordering her to state publicly why she had been charged. "They were pretty much trying to drive me insane," says Thomson.

Leisher, who is now a major instructor at a prison in British Columbia, defends his investigation—although he acknowledges that Thomson was badly treated. And he adds, "Her case was investigated and I left her and went to her superiors."

HAUNTED BY THE PAST

Last April, Master Cpl. Harold McLean pleaded guilty in a charge of indecent assault against former military police officer Kelly Scophone. The incident occurred in July 1992, at CFB Halifax, three months after Scophone then 18, joined the forces. Now the master of three young sons, Scophone is using the federal government for \$12.5 million in damages. She decided her arrest in an attorney

"There was a guy near my barracks. One afternoon, I went in and met up with Master Cpl. McLean, a physical fitness instructor. I told him I was new on the base and was looking to be set up in a fitness program. He said 'I'm really busy right now. Why don't you come back in 5 o'clock when the gym closes, and I can have more time to do down and talk.' I was still excited. I thought, 'Gee, he's really nice. He's going to stay after work and help me out.' So I went back to the gym at 5 o'clock and he ended up asking me if I wanted to have a drink. I said 'I don't have a drinking set with me.' He said 'That's OK. I have this great big beach towel—let's come in more than a bathing suit.' I thought, 'OK.' So I went into the shower. He came in after wards. He had a towel around him and a couple of beers. Of course, having just turned 18, I was thinking, 'Wow, this is pretty cool, to be able to drink beer.'"

We checked about his family and my family. It was getting late, so he said, "Why don't we finish our drinks in the lounge upstairs?" I followed him up to the lounge and sat down on a couch. He sat down on a chair in front of me and we chatted. Next thing you know, he jumps up and he's on top of me, pushing me down on the couch. He happened to fall. He was a big man and he pinned my arms right back over my head. He was trying to wrap the towel off and get his hands to open my legs. I struggled with him. I kept saying, "No. What are you doing?"

I kept looking out the window above the couch, this really big window. It was light out and I could see the trees. I kept struggling, then all of a sudden he got leg and I jumped up and ran back to the barracks. I told one of my roommates what happened and she wanted me to go to the police. I thought, "How can I—who is going to believe me?" I believed it was solely my fault. I got what I deserved. I pushed it right out of my mind.

I eventually came back to haunt me and I knew how badly that nightmare. My brother and I had a very bad argument a window was being stolen, and all of a sudden it was his pet. My husband didn't know what was happening. We almost broke up because at first I didn't really know what had happened in 1992 was the problem. Every day I would get these flashes. I couldn't be intimate with my husband. Every time he came near me or touched me in a certain way it would trigger it.

Therapy made me realize it was wrong, so wrong. He took advantage of his position. I was very naive but he wasn't. He was 27 and I was 18. I really didn't change in 1996. I know that now. I know now, obviously I wouldn't have gone in the same. I feel like a big jerk because I was so naive. I was really mad at myself that I let myself get captured in it, but how did I know? I had no reason to believe he would hurt me. How many 18-year-olds are really educated about these things?

among men in her signals' course, and was transferred to CFB Halifax. But word of her attempt at whistle-blowing preceded her. According to Leisher, "Someone in Esquimaux called someone in Halifax and gave them a heads-up about her—and made her arrival worse." Shortly after she arrived in Halifax, Thomson says, the harassment began again when one of her roommates was told to keep everything in Esquimaux. Don't talk any of that here."

For Thomson, now 35 and married, the treatment proved unbearable. She spent her first two months of service in the psychiatric ward at the military hospital in Halifax, suffering from a serious eye disorder and suicidal tendencies. She left the military on Sept. 9, 1993. Last month, still so emotionally fragile she cannot work, she won a lengthy battle with the Veterans Review and Appeal Board and was awarded a disability pension of 95% for her claim of post-traumatic stress disorder. It was, at the very least, a best admission that she had been grotesquely mistreated.

High-ranking officers and other military spokesmen say they take the issue of sexual assault seriously. "It's a crime," says Capt. David Marshall, who has been base commander at Esquimaux since

1997. "We just don't tolerate it." As for victims who have been advised to come forward, Capt. Deborah Wilson encourages them to "put their concerns on paper and address them to the chief of defence staff." Wilson, who monitors gender issues at Defence's headquarters in Ottawa, adds, "I would be very interested in hearing what went wrong for them."

In an interview with Meade, Defence Minister Ar. Eggen said that his department had no sexual assault statistics. But he acknowledged, "There are always individual cases—there is going to be some poor behavior." Eggen also noted that new initiatives, such as anti-harassment programs, a new military law system and a grievance board that operates outside the chain of command, will help solve whatever problems exist.

These changes will do little to help those who have already suffered. Robt Cummings, now a 26-year-old university student in Vancouver, still becomes visibly upset when she recalls her experience. She was 21 when, on the night of Jan. 18, 1993, she and her roommate were sexually assaulted by fellow soldier Eric Gervais in their room in the co-ed Stadacona barracks at CFB Halifax. A year later, Gervais pleaded guilty to the assault in a Halifax court and was sentenced to two years in prison. But in spite of the conviction, Cummings says her 24 months in the pay after the attack were a living hell.

Within 24 hours of the assault, she and her roommate returned to barracks to pick up some items from their room. There, they found Gervais's underwear, watch and socks—evidence that should have been collected from the crime scene by the military police. While awaiting trial, Gervais was allowed to freely pass the base—and onto three floors at Cummings's roommate's window in an attempt to get her to talk to him. Cummings and her roommate were



Scophone: "It was wrong—the lack of advice of my position"

Many victims are now speaking out and seeking justice

joined to Bagambisi, shortly after, they were permitted to discover that Gervais had been posted to Bagambisi as well for training—their duty did not want to interfere with his career. Other harassment followed: in Bagambisi, Cummings says, she was also called an “English girl” by francophone sailors who sided with the Quebec-born Gervais.

After finishing their training, Cummings and her roommate were posted to HMCS Annapolis—and quickly found their situation becoming even more intolerable. Cummings’s roommate grew increasingly disturbed when senior officers forced her to wake up the next watch—which entailed going up the main’s mess decks where some sailors often watched hard-core pornography videotapes and others slept naked on their sheets. When she asked twice to be relieved of that duty, she was refused—by two different superiors. Finally, says Cummings, her roommate cracked and asked for a release from the ship. She followed suit in June, 1995. Her brother, Scott, an 11-year member of the Forces who vociferously supported her throughout the ordeal, also left the military in 1996. “It was horrible,” she says. “Everybody let us down” (page 24).

Of the women interviewed by Maclean’s, most were assaulted when they were most vulnerable, as new recruits or recently promoted grantees in their late teens or early 20s—away from home for the first time, newly inflated with the love of make. Many have never really recovered. Some have suffered from nervous breakdowns and depression, others have developed eating disorders and tried to take their own lives. All have left the Forces, heart-

‘THEY RUINED MY LIFE’

Sgt. Neila Odegaré, 41, of Toronto, Ont., enlisted in the air force in 1977, first training as an instrument electrical technician and then as a flight engineer, receiving a mark of 97 per cent on her course. She was sexually assaulted in 1981, last year she was granted a medical discharge for chronic post-traumatic stress disorder. Odegaré discussed her case with Maclean’s, Toronto.

I was posted at my job from 1985 to 1991 as the flight engineer on Prince Edmund’s Challenger jet. That means I was the third person in the cockpit, responsible for maintaining the aircraft’s systems. Flying the prime minister had to be a highlight of my career—they don’t let just anyone do that. But when I joined the air force in 1977, there were problems right from the beginning. Male officers treated me differently than they did the guys. In 1981, we flew a series of search-and-rescue drills near Trenton, in Bermuda, where they were training this old C-130 in a desert where there was nobody at the front desk after 11 p.m. I was in my bed sleeping; these two search-and-rescue technicians got a key, opened my door and came in.

I was crying. I’d tell you—there’s these two big guys and I was scared. It was ridiculous, so I grabbed my covers around me and they started trying to pull the covers away. One of them said, “She’s not being very co-operative. Why don’t you hold her down. I’ll go at her first and you go second.” Then he said, “Never mind, you get her and I’ll just pick off.” I was shocked. They’d been discussing that and jumped up, grabbed the sheets off the bed and ran out of the room screaming. I hid in a corridor until they finally left my room. Then I went back and told the door clerk.

The next day the whole crew laughed at me. It was the big joke around the squadron. “Ha, ha, ha, we got away with it.” Who knew

COVER

That was certainly the experience of Catherine Newman. As a 27-year-old air force captain stationed in Qatar in March, 1991, during the Gulf War, she says she was ordered to attend a base party by Col. Romeo Lalonde, head of the Canadian Forces in the Gulf. Newman says that at a size on the way home from the



Interview with Newman. “I was just at my job.”

about a few years right up to the present. And what is I gonna do now? I just became a crew chief, I’m going to repeat that for assigned people. Then what? The brass would say, “Where are you having your sex now?” and that would have been the end of a right there. I just wanted to do my job. And I loved travelling around the world. But I saw a lot of this stuff happening to other women. The worst time was when we were in foreign countries and ordered to go to special functions like at different embassies. I wouldn’t go. I’d be ordered to, but I wouldn’t show up. I knew what happened when the boss came down. That man would get pissed and jump the women. It happened all the time, even after missions in Rome.

In 1983, we got back from a search-and-rescue on Lake Ontario and an incident happened right on base in Toronto. After the mission, you get together to discuss what went on and the guys had a beer. They were drinking and that’s when I felt. But I walked into the back room of the hangar and there was a crew member forcing himself on a woman. She was fighting and I didn’t really know what to do. The guy was really big. Are you going to try and stop him? He’ll just beat you up. I walked away.

I saw a lot of things like that in my time. Too much. And I heard a lot of things. There’s just so much harassment and nobody does anything. I want to go up to superiors, base commanders, their women and parents. But nothing was done. It wore me down—I was tired all the time. Finally in 1994 a psychiatrist diagnosed me with chronic post-traumatic stress disorder. I quit the air force in 1997, after 20 years, and I’m now going through separate disability pensions. They ruined my life.

believe that their careers were shattered and angry that the military response worsened their conditions.

THE SCANDAL LOG

During the 1990s, the Canadian military, whose reputation remained unblemished for most of the century, has been rocked by a succession of scandals.

March, 1993: Members of the elite Canadian Airborne Regiment capture 16-year-old Shabane Aronov trying to sneak into their compound near Bel Air, Somalia. For the three hours it takes him to do, soldiers beat and torture Aronov, joining beside his injured body for trophy photos.

March, 1994: Pte. Ellen Kyle Brown is sentenced to five years for manslaughter—the only significant sentence given the nine Airborne soldiers tried by military courts on charges related to Aronov’s death.

January, 1995: A leaked videotape of an Airborne soldier’s death throes shows troops forced by their comrades to cut lines, vomit and urinate—some blood, as well as smeared sex acts and a black soldier on a leash with the words “I love the CKC” scrawled on his back. Ottawa defends the regiment.

October, 1995: The Somalia inquiry continues, running almost immediately into what the commissioners would later call “obscenities, selective recollection, half-truths and plain lies.”

January, 1996: Gen. Jon Boyce is appointed chief of the defence staff. Two months later, the inquiry discovers the key documents purloined by personnel under Boyce’s command had been lost or altered. Boyce blames his subordinates, after only nine months on the job, he resigns.

July, 1996: Lt.-Gen. Maurice Bédard (now chief of the defence staff) announces an inquiry into allegations of misconduct by Canadian personnel overseas while serving a peacekeeping mission in Bosnia. Among the charges: sexual misconduct with nurses and interpreters, and black-market activities. In March, a military board of inquiry cited insufficient evidence, cleared 54 of the 60 soldiers investigated.

December, 1996: A 1992 training exercise photograph of Sandra Perre, who later became the army’s first female infantry officer, was leaked to the media, accompanied by reports that she and soldiers had used her roughly. The photo was taken in a bar, not a training exercise, in the snow, a “prisoner of war.”

July, 1997: The Somalia commissioners’ final report, issued under protest after Ottawa refused their request for a third session, condemned the entire military structure. The events in Somalia, concluded chairman Giles Letourneau, a Federal Court of Canada judge, were “the inevitable result of systemic organizational and leadership failures.”

October, 1997: A parliamentary committee examining living conditions in the Forces begins its hearings. Scores of military personnel and their spouses have testified to diets about as bleak as housing, low pay and slow career move-



Cummings: a soldier that became homeless, she was made after the assault.

party, a highly decorated Lalonde put his hand down her blouse and up her skirt—while two other senior officers stood by. On. Certain that her superior would be supportive, she took her sexual assault complaint to him. Instead, she says, she was told that if she pursued the matter, she would be “on the next plane home as a administrative burden.”

Newman kept quiet. She waited two years, took a posting in Ottawa, and then filed her complaint. “I did it for other women,” says Newman, 33, who resigned from the Forces in 1994 and still lives in Ottawa. “Who else could I have? It was either to go or to stay on forever.” At the 1994 court martial, Lalonde was found guilty of sexual harassment, fined \$5,000 and received one month. But his conviction was later overturned by the court martial appeal court on the grounds that the military judge had unfairly excluded evidence and fired his charges as a result of a conflict of interest. Lalonde had made about the incident. The appeal court said federal authorities were free to ask for a new trial, but they never did. The experience left Newman bitter—and psychology says vulnerable. Now, the women who accuse Lalonde are afraid to speak their charges as afraid to answer her door or go to the mall. “I don’t go outside by myself any more,” she said. “I’ve a changed person since the court martial. I found it as traumatic or worse than the assault.”

Experts say that military women who have been sexually assaulted by male colleagues may suffer greater psychological difficulties than civilians because of the special nature of military life. The military was their family,” says Rick MacLeod, a lawyer with the Bureau of Persons’ Advocates at the department of veterans affairs in Charlottetown. MacLeod, who has helped many assault victims

fight for disability pensions, adds “So, in many ways, these rapes were the same thing as incest. That’s why it might be more devastating than if it happens out on a city street. That’s why it’s not more than that, something about these cases.”

That devastation has haunted one woman, who will only be identified as former Cpl. B. Urlicser, for 13 years. In 1988, as a 19-year-old recruit, she was posted to CFB Borden—near the city of Barrie, Ont., 90 km north of Toronto and the largest training base in Canada—for a six-week course in administration. There, Urlicser says, she was raped by a soldier shortly after her arrival. She did not report it, fearing that her superior would not listen—or that she would be made to look guilty. Besides, she says, there were other pressures to stay silent. “As the military, we’re trained to be team players,” she notes. “It’s not right to tell on your team members. So you keep it a secret.”

But the secret took its toll. In 1989—after repeatedly contemplating suicide—Urlicser tried to kill herself by overdosing on pills. She was taken to hospital, there, she told a psychiatrist about the rape. Urlicser, who subsequently left the Forces and now owns her own business as the Pranes, says she knows other women who were assaulted at Borden—and that warnings about the dangers of walking alone at night were commonplace. “We had to go out in groups of twos and threes and walk down the middle of well-lit streets,” she says. “We were told it was because too many women were getting raped.”

Many victims are now speaking out and seeking justice, talking to the courts and other tribunals to air their complaints and fight for compensation. In

Many male soldiers acknowledge that assault is common

COVER

February, a federal judge in Toronto gave Kelly Scaglione, a former member of the military police, the go-ahead to sue the federal government for \$12.6 million in damages. Scaglione had been in training at Baden in 1992 when she was raped by physical education instructor Master Cpl. Harold McLean. He pleaded guilty to the charge in a Barme courtroom in 1997, and in a plea bargain, was sentenced to a three-year probation. (The former instructor admitted that sexual relations between supervisors and recruits was common. He recalled that while at training camp in Cornwallis, N.S., he and others routinely had sex with young recruits. "That was in making a lot of an impression," he told Maclean's about the McLean charge. "We're looking over our shoulders.")

Maclean's
divides how
also started
coming forward
with complaints



Vancouver's Cunnings is also seeking a pension from Veterans Affairs. So far, she has been turned down three times, on Sept. 28, her case will be heard in a federal court at the Maritimes where it could determine the military's legal responsibility for women who are raped while in the service. The Vancouver woman filed a disability claim arising from her sexual assault, received a pension at \$648 a month last year and almost \$16,000 in back pay. At least three other women—all still suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder as a result of being sexually assaulted by military personnel in the 1970s—have disability pension claims pending.

Cunings who have been assisted by military personnel have also started coming forward. On Aug. 3, 1994, while on duty in a barracks at A.C. Club, the junior nurse fell at Camp Borden. Master McLean was sexually assaulted and beaten up by a soldier. An ambulance took her to a Barme hospital where her injuries were evaluated. But although the military police were called in, Maclean's felt they did not take her case seriously, and she was forced to hire a lawyer. The soldier was eventually charged by civilian authorities and entered into a plea bargain, paying \$500 and agreeing to stay away from Maclean for nine months.

Veterans Affairs lawyer Macdonald believes the recent spate of highly publicized sexual assault scandals in the Canadian military may be one reason more Canadian women are now making themselves heard. "My feeling is that there are a lot more of these cases out there and that a lot more of them will come forward," said Macdonald. "My clients all have other women who have gone through similar experiences." And he says the American experience is very close to his, the numbers in Canada may end up being striking.

Since the Talbot scandal of 1991—when 83 female officers claimed to have been abused at a convention of naval and marine pilots—the U.S. veterans affairs department has established an extensive network of sexual trauma programs, which include special-ized training for members of their medical and veterans centres and a sexual assault information line. (page 25) Since 1992, veterans affairs centres have provided treatment for more than 22,000 military women whose complaints date back to the Second World War. "I don't think anyone had anticipated

by trained counselling teams at their medical and veterans centres and a sexual assault information line. (page 25) Since 1992, veterans affairs centres have provided treatment for more than 22,000 military women whose complaints date back to the Second World War. "I don't think anyone had anticipated



Woman who was raped, now about to answer her door

these kind of numbers," says Jean Foray, director of the Department's Center for Women Veterans in Washington. "A lot of these women kept it a secret. For them to finally have it come out and have people acknowledge that it happened is a tremendous relief." So far, the Canadian military has only one sexual trauma treatment program, at the Canadian Forces Support Unit Ottawa Health Care Centre. Over the past decade, the Canadian military has largely denied that a problem exists, maintaining that the incidence of sexual assault in the military is no greater than that in the civilian world. "We don't have a statistical base that would indicate that in the Canadian Forces there is more than that in other places," Radkovic told Maclean's. But there have been more of a problem. In fact, others. With its transient population of men and women on short-term training courses, CFB Baden is widely acknowledged to be one of the worst. In fact, from April, 1997, to March, 1998, Baden's Rape Crisis Line received 72 calls for help, all of them related to the military.

Anne Marie Adams, executive director of the Barme crisis line and past president of the Ontario Coalition of Rape Crisis Centres, says that the hierarchical, patriarchal nature of the military makes women—especially those in the junior ranks—very vulnerable to sexual assault. "It's a system where there are many levels of supervisors and a lot of power is given to those supervisors," said Adams. "So the lower you are, the less power you have, and the less likely you are to have a voice. The less apt you are to speak out, the more people will be free to consent acts like this."

Military structures against speaking out make it difficult to get an accurate picture of the extent of sexual assault within the Canadian Forces. But interviews with male military personnel—all requested anonymity for fear of reprisals—reveal a world in

which sexual is common. One former instructor at the basic training school in Cornwallis, N.S., said that sexual assaults of female students by instructors were routine—and were often hidden from the official record. "When guys would get caught," said the soldier, "they were offered two choices. They could either take a commanding officer's punishment—a fine and some extra duties—or they could take a court martial. But they were intimidated into taking the CO's punishment because that way it would never be written down anywhere—the whole thing could be kept pretty quiet."

One soldier who is still in the military told Maclean's he was a witness to a rape on a military base in 1991. A superior officer, he says, announced that he would be charged with conduct unbecoming on some unrelated matter if he didn't side with the perpetrator against the victim. "He didn't directly order me to be, he maneuvered me there," says the soldier. "It was like a chess game." Another, also still in the Forces, says he has personal knowledge of two sexual assaults against women by a training officer who is still on the job. In one case, he says, the officer told a woman she would not pass her training course unless she had sex with him. "He came out of his quarters the next morning bragging about what he'd done," says the soldier. "He said, 'Oh she was a real good one. She does everything you want.'"

Another female private, he says, was raped, then driven out of the military by a campaign of harassment—including misleading instructions about what military dress was required for functions—after she reported the assault to military police. "Over the period of a few months, she was continually given wrong orders, either about what dress to wear or what time to show up for duty," says the soldier. "They didn't get rid of you by firing you. But if I tell you over a couple of months to come in at the wrong hours and to wear the wrong dress, that will show in your personnel evaluation reports and your written warnings. That's the administrative way they get rid of you."

While most women say they anticipated some form of sexual harassment when they entered the military, few were prepared for the flagrant hostility they found. "We were referred to as sluts because we have vaginas," says one woman, who went through basic training at Cornwallis in 1990, but left the Forces two years later because she could no longer put up with the abuse. "We were taught that women who wanted to join the Forces were one of two things: sluts or sluts. I was in uniform. I joined the military for a job—and I was good at my job. I finally said why the hell am I doing this?"

Vancouver's Cunnings describes an atmosphere of "drunken debauchery," where officers preyed on young, naive subalterns—despite standing orders on all bases that outlaw such fraternization. "You go around and in the bar and your lieutenant or your captain or your master sergeant or your petty officer is slurring all over you when he's drunk," she says. "These people are higher than you and you don't want to say or do the wrong thing. It happens continually." Another female recruit who left the military in 1992 described instructors at the end of basic training handing out condoms by the dozen and telling the women to "have fun."

It was, she says, "like they expected us to be wild animals and you get and sleep with the first thing we saw," she says. "I think they should have had some respect for us." Respect, in spite of the apprehensions, that is what Denise Thomson and Ruth Cunnings and many other women based for when they joined the military. Instead, as Thomson now notes sarcastically, "They gave me three weeks of Prince and a bus ticket home." Now, she and others are speaking out, no longer content to endure in silence the memory of what they suffered.

With BRENDAN ANNAN/STILL and JOHN GEDDES in Ottawa and
STEPHAN GAZDAR, SHARON DOYLE DAVENPORT and
SKYLAH NOLAN in Toronto

A CASE OF PROCEDURAL CONFUSION

For a woman serving in the Canadian Forces who has been sexually assaulted, there is no single first step on the path to seeking justice. The range of options includes taking a superior officer, reporting the assault to the nearest civilian police department. In many cases, low-ranking women soldiers take their allegations up the chain of command, it is then up to higher-ranking officers to decide whether the allegations should be taken to the military police. If a military police investigation discovers enough evidence to go to trial, it has historically been left to a senior officer—not the military police—to bring the formal charge to the civilian courts. A court martial is held only if the alleged sexual assault happened outside Canada.

"Departure of national defence policy-makers has been such a mess recently that they may actually at least two times with that system. First, last fall, the department formed a new branch of the military police the National Investigative Service. It has the authority to bring sexual assault cases directly to trial, eliminating the need for an officer—who may have been serving directly above the victim, her

assistant, or both—to make the charge decision to press a charge. Second, according to the National Defence Act, now before Parliament, would give the military police the power to prosecute sexual assaults that happened in Canada, rather than turning the cases over to the civilian courts. "The military's experience is that we have an interest and should take action in a number of matters which might be, in some ways, more complex than investigating a senior lawyer serving as a prosecutor in the military justice system told Macdonald. "Something might be greatly exacerbated from our perspective if it was, for example, a person in a position of trust who did it, it might be unwanted teaching." Critics, though, question the new policies. "In the case of rape, the military should back off completely," says Sgt. Scaglione, who was a military policeman from 1979 to 1986 and whose wife Kelly also in PMF was sexually assaulted. Scaglione, who now works as a sexual assault investigator with the Toronto police, adds "It's the only way you can have an unbiased investigation."

JOHN GEDDES in Ottawa

'IT'S A MOAN'S WORLD'

BY BRENDA BRANSWELL

The Canadian Forces recruiting office in downtown Montreal has taken pains to make the military seem inviting to women. Two female mannequins stand at attention in the waiting area, one decked out in combat fatigues but sporting coral lips and long eyelashes, the other wearing the armoire's blue uniform. A mannequin with a female soldier's face declares "Women in the army: a force for change." Nearby, a young woman studies one of the recruitment flyers lying on a shelf. The 25-year-old restaurant worker, who declines to give her name, has been seen *G.I. Jane*, last year's David Moore action movie about a female soldier who enlists in an elite airborne unit. "This is the only one of my friends who liked it," the smiling, vivacious 25-year-old explains candidly. She is thinking of applying to the army. She expects to face some resistance because of her gender, she says. But, she adds, "That pushes me more—and if I succeed and get through, it will be even more worth it."

That determination may prove vital, given the hostility and harassment many military women say they have been subjected to. Strength in numbers is not a fallacious option in the Canadian Forces, where women are still a tiny minority—less than 11 per cent, with most concentrated in the support ranks. And despite a 2000 order from the federal human rights tribunal that the military eliminate job barriers for women by next year, women still fill only about one per cent of combat positions. In its annual report last year, the Canadian Human Rights Commission expressed concern about the Forces' pace of integration. Others are more blunt. "I call it first-dragging," charges retired Lt-Col Shirley Rabkawa, who in 1985 formed the Association for Women's Equity in the Canadian Forces, a 20-year-old military career. "It should be odd to hear by now—they have not been fully committed to this."

In Ottawa, Cdr Deborah Wilson, who monitors gender issues, acknowledges that the brass consistently assumed that "change would happen naturally" once it filled barriers to women. It did not work out that way. The military's first attempt, in 1988, to bring women into combat units was hardly a resounding success. In the infantry, for example, only four out of the first 100 women who signed up made it through training—and all of them left the military within the first five years. Since then the military, which currently has 131 women in combat positions—down sharply from the 166 it had in

recently as January—has not done any targeted recruiting until now. In March, the department of national defence began a \$1.5-million advertising campaign to recruit 350 women into combat jobs this year. And according to Wilson, the service has taken pains to identify barriers to women and make changes to its training system. Among other things, the Forces want sufficient numbers of women going through training at the same time. "One of the key elements is this notion of critical mass," explains Wilson. "It's a lot harder to go through as a single woman of an all-male group."

Even if women make it through training, keeping them in frontline jobs is another challenge. A recent study by Wilson's office, for example, found that attrition rates for women in combat jobs is more than four times that of men. The study did not offer any explanation for that trend, but in the case of Capt. Sandra Perron is one indication, harassment may be one of the reasons. A 1992 training exercise photograph of Perron—fired to a tree, hand-to-hand in the snow, a "prisoner of war"—caused an uproar when it appeared in the media in 1998. Perron, who had quit the army earlier that year, recently broke her silence and acknowledged that she left the military because of the treatment she was forced to endure.

Other women who served on the front lines of integration acknowledge that it was a bumpy ride. Dr. Beverly Henry, 38, was medical officer on RMKCS Provider for three years in the early 1990s. She says that some female crew members objected to women posting photos of naked women, while military spouses had their own concerns about rumors of relationships on the ship. "It didn't happen," says Henry. "It wasn't such big news." But Henry, who is now studying in San Diego, Calif., left the navy in 1995 and cites sexism as one of the reasons. Recently Henry "I used to say, when I was at sea, 'I'd like to just go through the whole day without somebody reminding me that I'm a woman.'"

Others are more scathing. "I've only met two women in my entire career who said they were not harassed," asserts retired captain Catherine Newman, who left the military in 1994. "And one was a major married to a colonel." According to the Canadian Forces' annual harassment report, military personnel filed 144 formal complaints in the 1999-2000 fiscal year—up from 127 in the year before. Women, mostly from the lower ranks, filed 54 per cent



Tarver recruiting office: a campaign to attract 250 women

NO STRENGTH IN NUMBERS

The 4,630 women of the Canadian Forces made up 10.6 per cent of the military's 61,547 members on Jan. 1, 1998. Female representation within the Forces' main occupational groups

GROUP	TOTAL STRENGTH	WOMEN	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
COMBAT TROOPS	13,232	166	1.3
ARMED OPERATIONS/INTELLIGENCE	6,636	492	5.7
AIR OPERATIONS/TECHNICAL	12,147	961	7.9
ENGINEERING/MAINTENANCE	10,882	602	7.4
MEDICAL/DENTAL	2,495	676	36.2
SUPPORT	14,235	1,332	23.4

SHARP really sent a top-down message that all members of the Canadian Forces were under the same obligation in terms of integration," says Kathryn Brandon, the president of Okanagan University College and former chairwoman of a government advisory committee, which monitored the military's integration efforts.

Some service members note that the SHARP program has had some impact on the ground. "People are almost paranoid to say anything wrong," one woman soldier told MacIsaac. "It really is hyper-sensitive now." Other women also report happier experiences on the gender front. "The bars were very well accepted," says Bernadette Burke, a master sergeant who joined the military in 1980. Still, five years after she joined, Burke, now 37, took part in a sex trial for women sailors and boarded a ship where some of the crew called them the "right asses." But Burke, who has worked in all three branches of the military, maintains that attitudes towards women have improved and she now holds a greater degree of acceptance among young soldiers. Still, she acknowledges the problem is far from solved. "It's getting better," says Burke, "but it's a slow process." And too many women, it seems, are not prepared to wait out that evolution. □





Commenge, putting his sister's needs first brought reprisals

BREAKING RANKS

Sen Commenges remembers pleading with his sister Ruth when she called in September, 1992, to tell him she had signed up with the Canadian Forces and was heading off to boot camp. "Jesus God," he told her. "Don't do it. You're a smart girl. Do something with your life—don't join the military." Commenges had reason to be worried. He knew firsthand the hostile battlefield his sister was entering, and that her gender alone would mark her as the enemy. For seven years, he had served as a crack infantryman with the ruggedly macho Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry at CFB Calgary. At that time, he was ingrained in an atmosphere of open hostility towards women, an attitude that, he says, was not only accepted—but expected. "We were taught to refer to women as 'spits and peckers'," says Commenges, who resigned from the military two years ago and now works as a divorce counselor in Calgary. "I'm not going to say the other words because they were as horrible."

The behavior of the "looming at the mouth, testosterone-governed" men his sister would be coming into contact with made Commenges fear for her safety. As an instructor at Calgary's Warriorcraft battle school in the late 1980s, when the military began its first push to integrate women recruits into the infantry, Commenges had learned that boot camps were meant for one thing: "I can tell you," he says, "there was filth on the ground in the shack [baracks] between male and female recruits and between recruits and instructors. If it was ever made public, it would have brought the government down." And his fears for Ruth were realized on June 18, 1993, when he received a telephone call from the military guard at CFB Halifax, where both Commenges—by then an ammunition technician—and Ruth were then stationed. His sister had been raped by a fellow recruit in A Block, the co-ed barracks

with him to his apartment—against the wish of the base accommodation officer, who told Ruth to go back and sleep in the barracks with her peers. "I said to him, 'You want her to stay in the same room as she was sexually assaulted by? No way—she's leaving with me.' " And he broke ranks again when he complained that the military police had mishandled the investigation by not removing an officer's clothes from the room left behind in Ruth's room.

His attempts to help his sister, Commenges says, marked the beginning of the end of his military career. He began suffering from what is known in the military as "repatriation" syndrome: self-systematic punishments and, possibly, even extra weekend duties to poor performance reviews, that cannot be recorded in a military court because they are not formal charges. "Repatriation is the internal rule of the military," says Commenges. "In my case, they looked in when I got up nights and my sister's needs ahead of the military process. I couldn't prove it, but I wasn't going anywhere after that."

Two years ago, Commenges voluntarily resigned from the Forces—but the treatment he had and his sister received still riddles him. Incredibly, after 11 years of serving in a system designed to enforce conformity, he has become a radical nonconformist. Commenges has begun writing a book on the inner workings of the military, an exploration he now characterizes as a secret society with an unwritten code of conduct—much like the Code Noir. And he wants to become an advocate for people in the military who are prevented from speaking out about the injustices they see. Even by talking to *McKinnay*, he notes, he will be getting new ideas with his fellow soldiers. "My name will be out when they read this," he says. "Even though they know what I'm saying is true, I will have broken the code."

JANE O'HARA

Arriving at the barracks, Commenges, a corporal, got into a wall of military harassment from superiors who wanted to handle the situation quietly. His first victim came when he was an officer in charge being interviewed by television reporters. He marched up to him and asked, "Where's your sister? Is this about my sister?" The officer replied "I have no idea what you're talking about." Knowing full well he was risking a court-martial for insubordination, Commenges blurted back, "Weren't you her?" He was then forcibly taken away by two military policemen to the petty officer's office, and later severely reprimanded for his unbecoming conduct. He was also questioned by the military police, who found he might have the right. What went through his mind, Commenges recalls, is that "they were more concerned with the person who assaulted my sister than with her. I felt that if they could, they were going to try and hide that thing."

Commenges challenged his superior a second time when he tried to tell his sister how to handle the situation. He was then

COVER ANSWERING THE CALL

Scandal has made the U.S. military wiser

It seems like the same old story: These weeks, a pattern of sexual abuse is uncovered in the American military. In a confidential message to his top officers that became public last week, the admiral in charge of the U.S. navy's Pacific fleet issued a conclusion on a rising number of rapes and sexual assaults against female sailors. "I was surprised," Admiral Archie Clements told his commanders. "We are experiencing these incidents at a greater rate than I had even suspected. Do not hesitate to tackle these tough issues. We must if we are to curb this pernicious and disgraceful behavior."

Precise and dispassionate behavior—the U.S. military has spent much of the past 18 months struggling with the embarrassing consequences of ever-rising rates of rape in the ranks. At least, that's the message in the military at the most senior levels. For years, critics argued that the army, navy and air force did not pay enough attention to complaints from women. But with women now making up almost 16 per cent of the 1.4 million members of the U.S. military, at least, it's changing fast. The result is a lower that, even more of its critics acknowledge, is now hypersensitive to any hint of sexual wrongdoing. "The U.S. military has learned a awful lot," says Royce Manning, a former army captain who broke the case for the Women's Interest and Education Institute in Washington.

"The question is will they still be so sensitive in three or four years?" Adds Linda Bard Frisvold, author of a 1997 study of gender relations in the military called "Ground Zero." "The biggest change is that men—and women—are now being held accountable for their behavior."

Sexual harassment in the U.S. military has captured headlines since the late 1980s, and a series of female officers decided to have been abused at a convention of naval and marine pilots—the so-called "Tailhook scandal." The latest round began in November, 1996, when three drill sergeants at the Aberdeen Proving Ground, an army training base in Maryland, were charged with abusing local recruits under their supervision. One of them, Sgt. Delmar Simpson, was sentenced to 25 years for making a female recruit, Delmar, at the last showed that he did not prohibit the women and they did not treat him. But for army changed him with rape anyway, on the grounds that the women were afraid to say so because of Simpson's unique position of authority over them. In effect, the army declined rape—prompting Simpson to appeal.

Other high-profile cases have been less clear-cut. The army's most senior enlisted man, Army Sgt. Maj. George McKinnay, was fired on charges of covering sexual abuse from his women. The



McKinnay with his wife, acquitted of all but one charge

senior abuse hotline revealed that he, too, had had an affair.

The string of scandals has left the U.S. military a bit wiser and, in critics' words, a bit more open-minded. The military is now more open to reports of sexual abuse between men and women. The veteran affairs department counsels female veterans for sexual trauma, and says that it can lead to an average of 2,000 to 3,000 in 1990 to 1995. The army extended basic training from eight weeks to nine, with the extra week devoted to "values"—including advice to female recruits on how to report abuse. It also initiated an extensive psychological and psychological tests on candidates for drill sergeant. And in response to criticism that training men and women separately is lowering standards, the Pentagon ordered all three services to introduce tougher physical fitness requirements.

Conservatives are pushing for more limits. Some point to the sex scandals as an argument against training women for combat, while others say men and women should be segregated during basic training. Defense Secretary William Cohen will not go that far, but in March he ordered the service to do more to separate male and female living quarters in boot camps. No one expects that will put out the fire of sexual scandal in the military; the hope is that it will at least lower the temperature.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in Washington



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Bruce Wallace



Ducking the hard choice

Having discovered the benefits of showing compassion in politics during the hepatic C crisis, the Reform party appeared determined to keep its hands clean, insisting it would not legislate while its members traded last week. The beneficiary was Justice Minister Anne McLellan, who announced her long-awaited plan to revamp the Young Offenders Act, anticipating full-throated calls for a crackdown from law-and-order-minded Reformers. Instead, the Opposition proposed leniency. On an issue that cuts to one of Reform's founding whorls—taking the switch to teenage criminals—party leader Preston Manning remained silent. Reform MPs who did voice criticism asked only why McLellan will wait until fall to introduce the actual legislation—a fair point, but hardly one to make the summer session Reformers were not about to make too much of their policy of putting 10-year-old criminals behind bars at a time when they are doing so well holding hands with the victims of blood poisoning.

Yet the fast response was strange, especially given that Reform lay its year for McLellan all winter. When she assumed the Justice portfolio after the last election (in which she and David Kilgus were the first Alberta Liberals to win re-election since 1951), she was clearly the most powerful Liberal west of Saskatchewan's Ralph Goodale. There were even whispers that a run at the Liberal leadership was not beyond reason. That pointed a bullseye at her as far as Reformers were concerned, and they made no secret that she would be one of their prime targets.

There's nothing Allen Rock took his black cloud of trouble with him into justice to think, and McLellan stepped solidly out of sight. She ducked questions about right-to-die legislation during the hour surrounding Robert Latimer's trial for killing his disabled daughter, and last February, got slightly scolded by dipping her toe into the Supreme Court reference on Quebec secession. But otherwise, McLellan seemed content with a "you can't hit what you can't see" approach. "I don't like great strategies, they are empty, rhetorical gestures," she explained to Maclean's "truthfully, I reject knee-jerk solutions. I'm a pragmatist."

She sounds just like her boss. McLellan's style is a perfect fit with the cautious governing culture of the Conservatives, who would rather steer than revolutionize. Youth crime was one problem they could not duck. "Public confidence in the youth justice system was declining—and quite precipitously," says McLellan, noting that high-profile cases such as last November's murder of B.C. teenager Roman Virk by other teens added urgency to the issue. McLellan arrived in the portfolio having "firmly rejected both the 'do-nothing, everything's fine' and the 'let's put more kids in jail solutions.'" Her response was characteristically middle-of-the-road, toughening punishment for the most violent teens while keeping nonviolent offenders out of jail where, probably, they only learn how to become better criminals.

That McLellan came through last week largely unscathed shows that she knows to tend to her political base. The oilpatch, which had looked magnificently upon this Edmonton Liberal who was pure change of unusual resources in the first Christian monolith, now remembers her fondly as a friend who changed the industry's royalty regime, thereby helping drive the Alberta boom. Youth crime is a hot issue in Alberta and she argued to colleagues that sticking with the existing law was not an option. But her changes to criminal law will be accompanied by other steps more in keeping with traditional Liberal instincts: programs to try to improve the health and living conditions of kids deemed to be at risk of sliding into antisocial behavior.

But that fall children's agenda, she says, will take time to get. The porous philosophy means Ottawa lags in adapting to the needs of new social, moral and legal questions facing Canadians—more of which give the federal government an opportunity to lead a search for solutions. Here, for example, do we help our kids deal at ever-earlier ages with a culture that celebrates in-your-face sex and violence? Can we not give teachers and doctors some guidelines about treatment for terminally ill patients? The difficult questions won't be resolved by avoiding friction. But that, sadly, is too often the last by which the Christian government measures success.



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LET IT RAIN

The Vikings held the forced the 2,200 residents of Sault Ste. Marie, northwest of Edmonton, to face their homes for the second time in just over a week. Then, finally, it rained. "The more showers we get, the more confident we'll be," said Mayor Gary Pollock. With forecasts for more rain, officials slowed the excavations to return home.

EXPORTING WATER

Ontario said it will cancel a controversial permit that would have allowed Nova Group of South Sea. Move to export 600 million litres of water from Lake Superior to Asia. Environmentalists and Ottawa had condemned the plan. Newfoundland, meanwhile, supports a plan by the McCurdy Group to export 52 billion litres of water a year from Georgian Lake, near Fort St. John. The proposal still needs final approval from the province and the federal department of fisheries and oceans.

CURBING NEWS LEAKS

The federal government, in an apparent effort to crack down on leaks to reporters, asked the RCMP to look into how inside information about federal policies got into print. The inquiries centre around breach of trust allegations arising from news reports about the 1993 compensation program for East Coast fishermen and returns to the Young Offenders Act.

SALMON DIPLOMACY

B.C. Premier Glen Clark revealed he has two representatives from the Pacific Salmon Treaty talks in Portland, Ore. Clark said the federal government is "prepared to sacrifice the fish in British Columbia for bigger political reasons to keep the relationship with the United States, to not rock the boat." The provincial representative returned a day later. Since 1992, negotiators have been unable to reach agreement on renewing several treaty provisions.

END OF AN ERA

Former Quebec Liberal leader Daniel Johnson said goodbye to the radical assembly Johnson, who briefly served as premier in 1984, was facing almost certain defeat against Premier Lucien Bouchard in the next election. But he announced in March that he would step down as leader. Former federal Conservative leader Jean Charest took over on April 30.

The impasse over hepatitis C

The meeting began and ended badly as federal and provincial health ministers gathered in Ottawa last week to discuss extending the hepatitis C compensation package. Ontario Health Minister Elizabeth Watson, in her opening remarks, read from a list that outlined Premier Mike Harris's previous statements: all victims should receive compensation—and not just those who contracted the disease from tainted blood between 1980 and 1990 and are subject to a \$1.5-billion federal-provincial package announced on March 27. Harris has committed his government to paying for Ontarians left out of the deal. Quebec's Jean Roches, whose province also wants the package extended, left after a few hours of discussion. Others, such as Newfoundland and Saskatchewan, remained opposed to extending the package due to budgetary reasons. In the end, all that the ministers could agree on was to refer the issue to a federal-provincial panel, which will examine a range of options to help tainted blood victims, including the possibility of a new package. "Whatever to do, it should be done in a crisis," fed-

eral Health Minister Mike Watson told reporters.

Meanwhile, the nasty rhetoric continued. Black has been on the firing line for his refusal to extend the compensation package, and has repeatedly claimed that many provinces, Quebec among them, were "reluctantly" agreed to any hepatitis C compensation when talks first began last summer. Last week, he took aim at the "theatrical behaviour of Mike Harris and his crew." Ontario's Conservative government, Black said, was making up complex public policy "in the bedrooms and at microphones and in press conferences."

Harris, who is now in the middle of an effort to restore the provincial Tories' image, blasted right back at the federal health minister. "Black has spent 90 per cent of his time and effort opining to all the groups about how good he was and how bad everybody else was," the premier told Maclean's in an interview last week. "Now, he is acting like a common united approach and in fact by-passes by bypasses. But I had to bring the provinces, looking and screaming, because they didn't want to do anything. I've been a good guy."



Black: 'Theatrical behavior'

Sentencing a doctor

Ontario Court Judge Charles Scallan sentenced Maurice Gervais—the first doctor in North America convicted of assisting suicide—to two years less a day in provincial jail. Gervais, lawyer William McEwen, who had argued for a suspended sentence, appealed, allowing Gervais, 51, to be freed on \$3,000 bail. Crown prosecutor Michael Leishner, who had wanted a prison sentence, is also considering an appeal. "This case has nothing to do with money illness," Leishner said after the sentencing, "and everything to do with a doctor not being a doctor."

Last December, Gervais pleaded guilty to assisting a friend's suicide. The friend, a 60-year-old man, had contracted the AIDS virus. At the time, neither Mark Jevon nor Aaron McGee had developed symptoms of the disease, though both were diagnosed. Jevon survived the suicide attempt after a blood transfusion, but McGee died. Gervais is a former figure in medical education. From 1984 to 1987, he barred his friends from prescribing medicine and required he take dispensation from the province. In 1994, his licence was suspended for two years for sexual misconduct involving six male patients. Last week, Dr. Philip Hilbert, a medical ethics expert, denounced Scallan's decision. "It is an extremely light sentence for a very, very serious charge," Hilbert said.

The new arms race

India's nuclear tests cause global fallout

BY NOME MORRIS

I took just seconds to grab the world's nuclear smelter clock more than a decade. In a deft display of automata, India set off three serial nuclear blasts—one a hydrogen bomb—deep beneath the northwestern Pakistan desert near the border with Pakistan. It took 30 minutes more for the nuclear waves to reflect via the earth's crust. But it will take much longer to pull the international community out of the chillingly familiar Cold War atmosphere that immediately took hold. In a calculated imitation of U.S. presidential style, Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee briefly announced his nation's first test from 3294 feet in a lecture on the laws of his official residence, the Dag of India, before retiring behind him. After less than two months in office, top members of his Hindu nationalist-led government bragged that India is now a "global player," and Indian diplomats responded with a smug pride that bordered on hubris. But a host of other nations—including Canada—rushed for action with condemnations and sanctions. Unmoved by the outcry, India set off two more blasts two days later, intent on bringing into the select club of nations that possess battle-ready nuclear weapons.

As the shock waves rolled across the world, India's clock, Pakistan, accused New Delhi of "going berserk" and began to prepare for its own tests—possibly this week—to further a program that has long been backed by China. The CIA came under fire for failing to alert President Bill Clinton that a nuclear blast was coming. Critics blasted Canada again, as they did in 1974, for providing crucial technology in the form of Canadian-built reactors. And suddenly there was talk of a new nuclear arms race. Proliferation. Detection. Satellite scans. What's all of that supposed to have dashed with the Soviet Union in 1986? Especially because France, China, the United States, Russia and India signed the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in 1996, India's move came as a disappointing surprise. "The nuclear powers had stopped producing plutonium and were dismantling weapons," said Gordon Edwards, head of the Canadian Coalition for Nuclear Responsibility. "Since the dawn of the nuclear age, we had never been closer to achieving



Nuclear-missile missiles are paraded in New Delhi (left) Saturday. Vajpayee (left) solemnly declares

a nuclear weapons-free world. "Now, there are fears that other developing countries, such as Iran, may step up their attempts to get the bomb."

"We are now a nuclear-weapons state," Vajpayee declared. That claim may be a touch premature, since India is still working on a reliable delivery system that Pentagon experts predict that by the end of next year, both India and Pakistan will have the technical ability to aim nuclear-tipped missiles at most of each other's major cities, making the region the most volatile on earth. "It's now more dangerous than the Middle East," said one Pentagon official. Of even greater concern is the possibility that China will react to its growing "Once the Indians deploy the intermediate-range missiles they are developing, they will have the capability to hit nuclear warheads over the Himalayas and then [Beijing] The Chinese are going to be extremely worried," said James Fyfe, an Asian analyst at

the conservative Heritage Foundation in Washington, "Now, India has a much more serious threat than to look China in the face."

As the gravity of India's action became clear, Ottawa joined several other Western nations in recalling its ambassador, canceling all nonhumanitarian aid—about half the \$20-billion-a-year aid and investment—and banned military trade. But it stopped short of the \$28 billion worth of sanctions imposed by China, who shunned aid, halted military sales and cut off all U.S. credit to India, including bank loans. He also promised to push the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to withhold future support. Japan,

Britain's largest donor and the only country to suffer a nuclear attack, cancelled \$40 million in grants and suspended new loans. But Vajpayee remained in a better mood, buoyed by a dinner ministry study that touted "little possibility" of an oil-cut economic embargo now that foreign—especially powerful Western banks—have invested so heavily in India. "Even though we hope the sanctions will not be too strong, we are prepared to face them," the prime minister's political adviser, Prasad Mohapatra, told *the New York Times*. "India and its economy run on their own. We have the necessary resilience."

By the week end, his assessment was coming true. Both the rupee and the Bombay stock market had rebounded. And at their annual summit in Birmingham, England, leaders of the Group of Seven industrialized nations and Russia did not agree to a Canada-U.S. suggestion of a unified set of sanctions. European members, with their own heavy investments on the subcontinent, opposed the move.

Certainly Canada's \$1 billion in trade with India seemed unlikely to face major restrictions. Edwards accused Ottawa of hypocrisy that goes beyond protecting trade. As a member of NATO, he noted, Canada follows a policy—"nuclear apartheid"—that allows Western powers to have the bomb while denying it to less developed countries. Occasionally to protect the rebuff of the five major nuclear powers to abolish all nuclear weapons, India had refused to sign the nuclear agreement. Last week, Vajpayee announced the decision signing, but repeated India's new pact to abandon its nuclear option until the rest of world does so well.

It was also Canada's gift of a CANDU reactor in 1958 that first gave India the know-how to dismantle its 1974 bomb. India bought two CANDU reactors in the next decade. Canada ended its nuclear co-operation with India after the 1974 test, and Prime Minister Jean Chrétien last week insisted that Canada held its responsibility for the latest explosion because "the technology of 1974 is completely gone." Edwards, however, disagreed. "Without the CANDU technology they would not have anything, which you need for an H-bomb," he said. "Whenever we sell a nuclear reactor, we're selling a machine that produces tritium and plutonium, which you need for an H-bomb. CANDU is the only one on the market which does both."

Americans were meanwhile spluttering over the failure of U.S. intelligence to predict India's initial tests. Spy satellites picked up only increased activity around the site in the weeks before the blasts, according to a new Senate intelligence committee source. But CIA analysts were "killed into complete chaos," he said, by assurances from the Indian government that it was doing a scientific review of its nuclear policy, during which nothing would happen.

Had Clinton known, analysts doubt he could have dissuaded Vajpayee from detonating. New Delhi felt provoked by Pakistan's nuclear missile tests last month. Moreover, Indian Defense Minister George Yerram, who called China "nuclear threat number 1," recently claimed that Beijing has put nuclear weapons in nearby Tibet, although U.S. intelligence has no evidence of this.

Still, last week's blasts were clearly fueled as much by domestic considerations as external threats. Stopped down in the politics of a 20-party coalition, Vajpayee's administration needed a dramatic gesture. "It was being called a power move that can't work," said a senior member of Vajpayee's Bharatiya Janata party. "We had to do something to show it wasn't business." The word was huge. "The poison of self-interest," trumpeted a headline in *The Pioneer* newspaper. A *Times of India* poll put public approval of the tests at more than 90 percent. "This is a great moment for us," said Girdhari Singh, a Delhi businessman. "If we have the power, why not show it?"

By week's end, Clinton had sent a special envoy to try to dissuade Pakistan from going a head with its tests. But officials in Pakistan—where prime minister Benazir Bhutto once said the country with arms would "not quit" in order to be on nuclear par with India—called New Delhi's action just short of a declaration of war and insisted they would respond in kind. As the new arms race began, the post-Cold War world suddenly seemed a more dangerous place.

FOR SANJIVANAN THIRUPUR in Delhi and WILLIAM LOFTIS in Washington

THE NUCLEAR CLUB

Inside

These countries openly admit nuclear weapons arsenals:

- United States • Russia • China
- France • France

Knocking on the door

These countries openly acknowledge or have been widely reported to have nuclear weapons programs of some form, now or in the past:

- India • Iraq • Taiwan
- Pakistan • Libya • South Africa
- Israel • North Korea • Argentina
- Iran • South Korea • Brazil

GRAND DESIGNS FOR PEACE

political cardinals. The unionist camp is deeply divided, however. There are no cardinals in the Protestant political church."

As the referendum campaign winds towards its close on both sides of Ireland's borders, there is every indication that Foxwood's assessment is accurate. Voters in the republic appear prepared to endorse the required changes to the Irish constitution while the Catholic electorate in the North seems headed towards a resounding Yes vote backing the Good Friday pact.

May 19 during a territorialism gathering in Dublin, when 1,400 delegates at a party and flesh-and-conscience-over-whiskey conference resolved to abandon their long-standing refusal to take seats in any "parliamentary" assembly in the North. It was a historic move for republicans, amounting, in effect, to a decision to pursue the cherished goal of a united Ireland through political, rather than military, means. It was also a ringing endorsement of the leadership of Sinn Féin president, Michael Collins, and his deputy, Martin McGuinness, the party's chief negotiator during the peace talks. "Today, we cleared the way for the future," declared an emboldened Adams at the convention's end. "Tomorrow, we start to build the future. The future is freedom."

While some of the political leadership may have won a victory, the party's convention in Dublin only served to understate the difficulties facing Ulster's Protestants. In an effort to woo Sinn Féin's delegates, Britain's Northern Ireland Secretary Mo Mowlam decided to grant temporary leave to some two dozen imprisoned IRA militants to allow them to attend the and *féis*. Among those freed were the four members of the infamous RUC-clobbered Street Gang, who killed

If people had planned more than a decade ago, the man who is serving multiple life sentences in Dublin's Royal Society hall went through a minute standing ovation, hailed and embraced by Adams and McGunagle. Adams, "our Man of the Year," was the first to be

The reaction north of the bird described it all as "absolutely stratospheric," while Usher Duncan

If voters in Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic approve the Good Friday peace agreement in referendums on May 22 they will set in motion a complex series of arrangements designed to placate the long-warring unionist and republican camps. The steps

**THE NORTHERN
IRELAND ASSEMBLY**

likely to be elected in June by proportional representation, the 108-member assembly is a study in constitutional finesse and balance. To ensure that the Protestant majority cannot dominate the Catholic minority, voters on sensitive cross-community issues will require approval from a majority of both blocs, at least 40 per cent from each side, or an overall "weighted majority" of 50 per cent or more. And how do they know who's who? Each member will register as Protestant, nationalist or "other" when the assembly opens. A first minister and deputy first minister will be chosen by one of these methods, and a cabinet-like committee of ministers will follow the party's instructions. They and the assembly will govern the same issues now handled by the British government's Northern Ireland Office.

THE NORTH-SOUTH MINISTERIAL COUNCIL

Once the assembly convenes, the first minister, Ireland's prime minister and selected ministers from both sides will form a council discussing issues—such as tourism and agriculture—affecting the whole island. They will meet at top level twice a year. This is as close as the agreement comes to the republican dream of a united Ireland.

THE NATIONAL-ARMED COUNCIL

As British plans to devolve power to Scotland and Welsh assemblies take shape, Northern Ireland representatives will join them and members of the British and Irish governments to discuss issues such as transport or the environment. Operating by consensus, the council is a step to unisons seeking reassurance that Northern Ireland is still closely linked with Britain.

DISARMAMENT AND JUSTICE

Under the agreement, all parties are supposed to "use any influence they may have" to persuade armed groups to turn in their weapons within two years. Canada's former military chief John de Christenfeld, is overseeing the process. Impressed members of armed groups are to be released within two years as well. Meanwhile an independent commission will report on the sensitive issue of policing, currently Protestant-dominated by the summer of 2000, and the British government will complete a review of the criminal justice system by that fall.

over hand over its weapons. General John de Christoval, senior's process had out in agree with Colin Jameson, a Portland, who is bothered of IRA prisoners. "It just don't

no different. The PUP's Ervine (referred to as "Ervin" in the *Yes* by Leader David Trimble comments) stood rocking a stroller be-

plained that Nowlan had shown "no sensitivity for the views of the majority of the people in Northern Ireland." For Tremble, whose career is riding on a Yes vote, Sean Pelt's performance in Dublin amounted to yet another problem in a campaign that has not gone well from the start.

The leader of the largest unionist party in the north cannot claim about a lack of luck. British Prime Minister Tony Blair has twice visited the province during the campaign, once in the company of former Conservative PPS John Nisbet, in itself something of a phenomenon. Last week, Chancellor of the Exchequer Gordon Brown arrived in Belfast carrying a \$380-million package of aid and development. Scottish and Scottish, the London-based public relations firm that helped project Blair to power, has donated free access to the Yes campaign and Blair's business community has chipped in another \$300,000. Even the Boy Scouts are onside with one Catholic movement and one Protestant flocking to meetings in a symbol of closing of wounds.

Still, Ulster's Protestants remain doubtful. An unofficial Northern Ireland office poll on May 14 put the Yes vote at 39 per cent, the No at 18 per cent and the undecideds at 29 per cent. More cautiously a May 15 survey carried out for the *Irish Times* showed support for the North far less. Yes had fallen by 17 percentage points, to 56 per cent, while the poll last month put that No strength at 35 per cent. The 73-year-old forbear Sir Ian Paisley, a fellow but still formidable campaigner, has been working on the undecideds, travelling around Northern Ireland denoting what he continuously reiterates "Trouble's root."

The Protestants' hesitation appears to be fuelled by three major concerns. Many do not relish the idea of Sinn Féin gaining a seat on Northern Ireland's proposed cross-border executive. Many also do not believe the IRA will

over based on the allegations to Canada's former top soldier, retired senior John de Chastelain, the official in charge of the "decommissioning" process laid out in the Good Friday pact. And many would agree with Colin Jamieson, a vocal critic of the fiercely sectarian town of Portadown, who is both sides of the planned divorce within two years of IRA amnesty. "It just doesn't seem right," said Jamieson, 42, an Irish school teacher, a smoker bearing his ardent son on Portadown's Market Street. "They're bullies and murderers. They always were, always will be." Maybe so. But when the votes are counted this week, that son may turn out to be one of the scores of peace.



downward, however, as follows:



Research says 46% of Internet users would be more likely to buy if they had some sign of reassurance.

This is the sign



“It’s true in the largest sales and cost centers. All that stands in the way is common sense. The fact is, almost half the world is on the Web now. It’s just there, but they’re scared to get on-line information or deal with companies they don’t know. That’s how Citicorp works. The Citicorp web site looks as honest as the Internet.”

the Web, serving that new demand when you provide it. At the price you determine and Web browser (your information). Then you get the sign, the CA WebQuest! Seal. Some customers just ask, you'll also get more business. To see how CA WebQuest can increase your Web sales, visit:



Looters in Jakarta's Chinatown looting a wealthy jewelry store.

cent of the population. Shops and houses belonging to Chinese were robbed and burned, and hundreds took shelter in the city's hotels or fled the country. Some survivors were arrested, young men losing a bar called on passively to drink a friendly bottle of beer with them, while bank workers threw people bundles of money in the hope they would go away without setting the building on fire.

With the overthrow of a corrupt, foreign government, including Canada's, achieved their citizens to get out of the country. There were believed to be 3,000 Canadians in Indonesia, 2,100 were registered with the embassy in Jakarta. Some were evacuated with U.S. and Australian planes.

The foreign aid industry also planned to charter a plane to help Doctors of Canadian companies, which have invested nearly \$8 billion in the country, primarily in mining, were trying to get their employees out. Many people could not leave because the highways were clogged with baricades, and the cab drivers willing to risk driving were charging huge fees.

The jockeying for succession has already begun. A major power struggle could ensue between the civilian opposition and the army. Anwar Rasid, the outspoken leader of the prominent Muhammadiyah Islamic group, quickly tried to cobble together a coalition of seven opposition groups known as the People's Council. But he was still trying to win support from Megawati Sukarnoputri, the outspoken daughter of the country's legendary founder, Sukarno. In the military, armed forces chief Wiratna, and Suharto's son-in-law, Bambang, who heads the army's elite Strategic Reserve Command, were also jockeying for power.

The rioting also stopped the IMF reform package. "There has been an explosion of a government," said Sylvia Ostry, an economist with the University of Toronto's Centre for International Studies. "What there is as so much political unrest, it is difficult to undertake reforms." Analysts feared that if the violence persisted, there could be another round of currency devaluations across Southeast Asia. That would further impair the repayment of millions of dollars in bank loans issued under the IMF deals. But Ostry said the IMF will have no choice but to re-evaluate its reforms. "There will be considerable effort to staunch the damage," she said. So far, the damage is mounting by the day.

TOM PENNELL with JOE LEAHY in Jakarta

World NOTES

HELMS BACKS CUBA AID

Right-wing U.S. Senator Jesse Helms proposed a \$140-million, five-year humanitarian package of food and medicine for economically troubled Cuba, channeled through nongovernmental organizations such as the Catholic church. He said his bill, which also calls for U.S. pressure for democratization, would build on Pope John Paul II's visit in January. Cuba said it would reject the aid proposal even if Congress approved it.

A LONGER LIFE

Global life expectancy has increased dramatically and will continue to improve in the next century, according to the World Health Organization. It ordered improvements in medicine, food supply and education among key factors. In 1985, a WHO report said, the average life expectancy at birth was 48 years. In 1990, it was 65. By 2025, it will reach 72, and no country will have an average life span of less than 50 years. Canada ranks a select group of developed nations where the average life will last 80 years or more.

KOSOVO PEACE TALKS

Nagorno President Stepanakovich Bilalov met for the first time with the leader of Kosovo's independence-minded ethnic Albanians, Ibrahim Rugova. Meanwhile, a Serbian Serb has smoked down hard on separatist guerrillas in the southern province, which is 98 per cent Albanian. U.S. envoy Richard Holbrooke, who brokered the Belgrade meeting, said the crisis could become "worse than Bosnia" if no deal is struck. The leaders agreed that future talks would be taken in Kosovo.

ESTRADA TAKES THE LEAD

Former action movie star Joseph Estrada was well ahead in the Philippine presidential election as officials counted a clear lead of 50 votes. Estrada has faced criticism for being a weak grasp of foreign affairs and economics, but he is highly popular among the poor.

SMOKE OVER TEXAS

Texas officials warned residents to stay indoors due to heavy smoke from forest fires raging out of control in Mexico and Central America. Health experts and the contaminated air continued fire particles that could cause problems similar to smog.



OPEN HOUSE: The Queen leaves Canada House in London's Trafalgar Square after the venerable building was reopened to show off 18 months and \$15 million worth of elegant refurbishing. Accompanied by Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, the monarch toured stately restored rooms, some with period furniture found in storage, and a new computer library. Greenpeace protesters seized the opportunity to scale Lord Nelson's column near the building and unfurl a 25-m banner reading "God save Canada's wilderness."

Bloodshed on the West Bank

With peace talks at an impasse, the bloodiest fighting in nearly two years broke out between hard-core soldiers and Palestinians. At least 100 were killed, and more than 300 people were wounded, including 30 Israeli soldiers. The clashes arose from mass demonstrations ordered by Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat to mark what Palestinians call the Nakba, or catastrophe—Israel's founding 50 years ago on May 14, 1948. An estimated one million people marched, mostly peacefully, but some turned violent. In Gaza, hundreds of stone-throwing demonstrators tried to storm an Israeli settlement. Israeli soldiers fired into

the crowd, killing six people. There were other clashes in the West Bank and at Jericho. U.S. President Bill Clinton blamed the violence on Palestinian frustration and said it was "time to pause" on peace efforts. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu had earlier spent two days in Washington in talks with Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, but they agreed only to continue discussions at a lower level. The United States has pressed Israel to turn over control at 13 per cent of the West Bank to Arafat, in addition to the 22 per cent and 10 per cent of land it has ceded at the pace that Netanyahu has wanted on grounds that Israeli security could be endangered.

Routing U.S. arms to Iran through Canada

Washington may clamp down on arms exports that reach U.S.-embargoed countries, such as Iran, by pressing through Canada, a state department spokesman said. Last week, the RCMP in Vancouver arrested two Canadians on U.S. charges that they mailed an embargo by trying to buy American military parts for Iran from an undercover agent in San Francisco, allegedly in exchange for bribes. The pair now face extradition proceedings. Again, New York Times-CBS television investigation highlighted several cases where U.S. arms have been re-exported from Canada, which is exempt from normal U.S. export licensing requirements.

WORLD INDONESIA

Living dangerously

A n air plane prepared to land, President Suharto could see the orange glow from the fires burning below him in the streets of Jakarta. Just hours earlier, protesters—angered when the Indonesian army shot and killed six rioting students—had gone on a city-wide rampage, burning and looting dozens of buildings. The capital's broad thoroughfares were filled with riot-charged parking lots as roving gangs forced hundreds of drivers out of their cars and torched the vehicles on the spot. Almost 500 people were reported killed, including hundreds who burned to death in shopping mall fires or jumped from burning buildings. The rioters struck directly at Suharto, burning banks and other businesses belonging to his children and friends. The president, who had been on a state visit to Egypt, flew home early to take charge personally. But many analysts believed only his departure from office could end Indonesia's chaos. "Whether he's a savior or a power or kicked in the butt, who knows," said one Western diplomat. "But it's only a matter of time."

Just a few months ago, slowly molting Suharto in public could have brought a jail sentence. But his seeming vulnerability began to erode last fall when the currencies of Indonesia, South Korea and Thailand collapsed and they were no longer able to meet payments on their foreign debts. The International Monetary Fund stepped in with a \$180-billion rescue package. It came with a steep price tag: businesses must bankrupt,

subsides were cut and thousands of workers were laid off. In Thailand and South Korea, where the governments are democratically elected, people have largely accepted the reforms. But Indonesians, tired of the corrupt capitalism that has slowly enriched Suharto's family and friends during his 32 years in power, reacted angrily when prices of gasoline jumped by up to 71 per cent in early May. An protest mounted, a broad cross-section of people, from alien dwellers to segments of Suharto's own party, joined

Fierce riots threaten Suharto's hold on power

efforts to bring him down. The 75-year-old president himself seemed to hint that it may be time to step aside. "I," he said, "am no longer trusted by the people." But his remarks in Cairo were too vague to convince many of his opponents.

Within hours of his arrival back in Jakarta, Suharto attempted to appease the rioters by cutting back the planned gas price increase to 20 per cent. It had little effect. As the army moved by, either unwilling or unable to act, rampaging gangs continued to torch businesses. Much of the destruction was aimed at the country's elite Chinese minority, said to control 75 per cent of the nation's wealth while forming only about four per

Hollywood bad guy

Seagram's scion
Edgar Bronfman has
Tinseltown in a tizzy

BY KIMBERLEY NOBLE

Montreal's Bronfman family is no stranger to controversy. After arriving in Canada from Russia in the 1890s, they made a fortune outsourcing federal tax collectors and selling whiskey to American mobsters. The next generation made headlines tussling over control of the family firm, Seagram Co. Ltd. But Edgar Bronfman and his sons divorced the question who lived next door, and the two groups of millioinaires proceeded to carve up corporate Canada. The third generation, now split between Montreal and New York City, is currently in the process of reducing Seagram's traditional reliance on the world's appetite for hard liquor by re-shaping the U.S. entertainment industry—a strategy that seems to have excited as much of a furore as all the Bronfmans' previous scandals combined.

Seagram's foray into music, television and film started in 1985 with the \$1-billion purchase of Los Angeles-based MCA Inc., now called Universal Studios Inc. This month, it expanded into transatlantic negotiations aimed at acquiring the world's largest record company, Dutch-based PolyGram NV, in a deal that could be worth as much as \$14.5 billion. As so doing, Seagram's president and CEO Edgar Bronfman Jr. has provoked that most American of responses: instant and short-lived wrath towards the recently newscast, followed by denials and backstabbing once the novelty wears off. For the 42-year-old Montrealer, the noisepiece phase lasted three years. During the past six weeks, he has been forced to defend himself in every turn. "It's a remarkable phenomenon when you come right down to it," says Peter Bart, editor-in-chief of the show business weekly *Nativity*. "One moment someone is a hero of showbiz, the next a bad guy."

In an open letter to *Nativity* last month, Bart warned that "like it or not, it's your turn to be the target." He then listed a few of the reasons, starting with Bronfman's decision last October to fold Universal's television and cable assets into a partnership headed by Warner Bros. Inc. chair man Barry Diller and ending with the recent box-office disappointment of Universal's badly touted political action *Primary Colors*. Bart berates Bronfman for his lack of the vision thing, quoting a top Hollywood agent as saying that everybody understands



Rupert Murdoch and Michael Eisner, but "we don't get Edgar." Bronfman's critics also readily point him as a voracious light-weight and a ruthless number cruncher with no appreciation of the elusive forces at work in the U.S. entertainment business. Read between the lines, however, and a different grievance emerges. The Hollywood establishment seems less upset by Edgar Jr.'s purport lack of business sense than by the growing

repute that, 30-odd months after the bandwagoneer's fiery ride into Tinseltown with a multitude of cash, he clearly has his own notions of what to do with it.

For one thing, Bronfman does not care much for television, however important a role it played in the former growth and glory of MCA. He has been the target of fierce criticism over the way he handled last fall's deal with Diller, under which Universal traded its entire television operation—including the rights to his program such as *The Jerry Springer Show*, *Law & Order*, and *Arrested Development*—in return for 45 per cent of Diller's USA Networks Inc.

Bronfman is a staunch defender of the deal, however, rebuilding those in Hollywood who believe giving up control is tantamount to selling one's daughter. He contends it was the only way to persuade Diller—a longtime friend and mentor—to take charge of Universal's money-losing TV divisions. "Let's just say that in marrying our television assets with Barry's, we're sending our daughter to boarding school," says Bronfman. Referring to the criticism, he says: "I don't really pay attention to the people who tell me I'm an idiot, and I don't pay a lot of attention to people who tell me I'm a genius. I believe the deal was right."

Despite the fact that Edgar Jr. worked for Universal as a film producer until his father persuaded him to join Seagram in 1980, he does not demonstrate a deep emotional attachment to the movie studio. In an industry notorious for runaway spending, Bronfman has

come under fire for adding in the best interests. Much has been made of his recent suggestion, to a big entertainment industry conference in New York City, that film companies should look at reducing the way they sell movie tickets. Asking filmmakers to pay the same rate no matter what the product cost to produce "is a pricing model that doesn't make sense," Bronfman said, arguing the industry is subject to "air conditioning—people are not as if the invisible world—and become acquainted with the concept of price elasticity."

Bronfman was not the first entertainment executive to propose variable ticket pricing, but that was the howls could be heard far and wide. The remark coincided with the departures of several top Universal executives, including two marketing managers who were reported to have opposed Seagram's claims to have invented basic new procedures—things like budgets and misadventures—on the movie studio. This, in turn, set off a round of rumors that Bronfman was going to oust his friend Steven Spielberg, Jeffrey Katzenberg and David Geffen of DreamWorks SKG to do a Diller-like deal for Universal's movie studio. Shortly, that was replaced by an unrelated rumor saying the opposite, that the troubled DreamWorks trio is on the process of persuading Edgar to rescue it. An entertainment executive quoted in *The New Yorker* recently compared Bronfman to a pharaoh. "He has had money come out."

This says more about Hollywood expectations than about Bronfman, who has made it clear all along that the one place he is willing to invest more of Seagram's money is in the music business. Music is what he loves best, having been a professional lyricist (under the name Sam Beerman) all his adult life, including his 16-year stint with Seagram. His best-known hit, composed with songwriting partner Bruce Roberts, is *Donnie*. Weirich's *Pilgrimage to the Dark*.

Whether Bronfman's detractors like it or not, the music business is where he intends to devote most of his time and money. When Seagram acquired MCA in 1985, the joke around L.A. was that the three letters—short for Music Company of America—actually stood for Music Cemetery of America. The suit has undergone a dramatic overhaul since Bronfman took charge, quelling the studio's cash flow during the same recent fiscal year and increasing its share of U.S. ad sales from eight to 12 per cent. Universal's operating profit rose more than 30 per cent in the latest quarter—a period in which Seagram's music and sports business, in hand by economic problems in Asia, reported a loss of \$10 million. For all the controversy, the value of Seagram's shares has climbed 40 per cent since late 1995, and big institutional investors seem to have confidence in Bronfman's leadership. In that environment, it's hardly surprising that Seagram's investors have endorsed their president's gamble on creating a successful music company.

Buying PolyGram, which caught Bronfman's attention last week after talks with Britain's EMI Group PLC fell through, could make more than make up for Universal's widely noted lack of a summer blockbuster movie. It would instantly transform Bronfman into the world's most powerful movie mogul, with labels ranging from Motown to Deutsche Grammophon and a roster of popular acts that includes aging rocker Elton John, the teenybopper group Hanson and acid singers Björk and Mýa.

Like EMI, the PolyGram deal could sink if Bronfman declares he is in better mind to pay more than the company is worth. That seems unlikely, however, given what is at stake—the opportunity for Bronfman to make his own mark on the family empire, as an industry he believes will be as lucrative as whiskey was 70 years ago. Maybe then people will begin to understand what Edgar Bronfman Jr. is doing. It might even make him a hero again in Hollywood. □

THE HOUSE OF SEAGRAM

Montreal-based Seagram Co. Ltd. earned \$752 million last year on revenues of \$1.7 billion, generated in three main areas of business:

UNIVERSAL STUDIOS

- Universal Pictures, producer of such films as *Primary Colors*, *The Last Word* and *Love Lies*
- Universal Music Group Artists include Adele, Madonna, No Doubt and R. & B. King on such labels as MCA and Interscope
- Universal Studios theme parks in California, Florida and Japan
- Universal Studios New Media Group, developer of on-line content and video games such as *Crash Bandicoot*

TROPICANA BEVERAGE GROUP

- Fruit juices, soft drinks and coolers

SEAGRAM SPIRITS AND WINE

- Olive Negri white; Merlot cabnet; Capelin Morgue rum, Plum's champagne and other beverages



The greed factor

New rules target rogue mutual-fund managers

Maybe there is something about highlighting Vancouver Stock Exchange companies that control fund managers that is irresistible. Or perhaps they are too easily sidetracked by the prospect of trading proxy shares. In any case, it was inevitable that in VSE companies that abruptly interrupted the careers of two Toronto-based mutual

Vancouver shell company, Dana No. 25 Holdings Ltd. (Rutherford) was treated by speculative stock promoter Robert Friedland. During that same year, 1993, Mersch was an active trader in another Friedland underwriting, Vanguard Corp. (Rutherford) proved to be a bargain; the next day it became the most valuable Fields Resources and soon struck a big on the stock market with the discovery of the



Mersch resigned from his position

Vancouver-based newsletter. It's rampant where you have stock promoters who want to enjoy or purchase future services from the fund manager. It is also a problem across North America. Arthur Levitt, chairman of the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission, has said personal trading by fund managers is "the issue that refuses to go away." He believes it should be curbed. "This industry can hardly afford even this type of conduct," Levitt said in a 1996 speech to U.S. fund managers.

In the case of Mersch, the Ontario Securities Commission alleges that five years ago he was offered shares in VSE listed Rutherford Ventures Corp. for 15 cents each. The OSC says Mersch bought the shares through a

TAMING THE TRADERS

The Investment Funds Institute of Canada, a trade group, is asking mutual fund companies to adopt a code governing personal investments by fund managers. Among other measures, the code:

- ▶ bans participation in most private stock offerings
- ▶ prohibits "front running," in which a manager buys a stock himself and then sells up the price by purchasing it for the fund
- ▶ requires pre-clearance of most personal trades
- ▶ allows personal trades only if they do not conflict with the "best interests" of the fund

Vancouver's Bay official deposit in Laidlaw Ltd. when Edward Fields shares offered to \$2.85 each—13 times what he had paid. Mersch bought 226,000 shares for \$665,000. The problem, according to the OSC, is that Mersch concealed his earlier personal investment, denying he had an interest in Dana and that he had invested his own money in Rutherford shares. He also failed to disclose he had made a profit at over \$2 million, reporting that the shares had been bought through Dana No. 25 by a childhood friend, Peter Conit. (Mersch told securities regulators Conit was the owner of Dana No. 25.) On May 7, Mersch quit his job at Altamira, hours after the OSC accused him of deliberately misleading the commission.

The controversy may cost Mersch more than his job under company rules, he may have to relinquish his \$1.1 million stake in Altamira because he left. Neither Mersch nor his lawyer agreed to be interviewed last week. "Unfortunately, he can't speak right now while it's under review," said Caryl Miles McManus, a spokeswoman for Mersch. A hearing into the issue is slated for June 11.

Two years ago, Veronica Mersch also could not resist a VSE bargain: a private share offering by Oliver Gold Corp. of Vancouver. Mersch and the investment was too risky for her fund, yet purchased 25,000 Oliver Gold special warrants for herself and a family friend to be a resident in Vancouver to do so under securities rules, the share issue was only open to B.C. residents. Mersch made a profit of \$195,175 on these special warrants. Two months after buying them for herself, she purchased 295,000 special warrants for the AGF fund she managed at more than double the price she had paid. As a consequence of her personal trading, Mersch had to pay fines at least \$140,000 to regulators in British Columbia and Ontario.

Concern about such activities by fund managers has caused the Investment Funds Institute of Canada—a trade association—to devise a new code for personal investing. The regulations do not outlaw personal trading, but there are stricter limitations and a requirement that such trades be disclosed to other fund investors. "You have to put your clients' interests before your own," says Terence Baie, president of Dynamic Mutual Funds

and one of the OSC members who drafted the code. Still, some observers argue that fund managers should refrain from trading altogether. Says Mark Schwartz, an ethics specialist at York University's Schulich School of Business: "It's not just a case of conflict of interest, it's a case of greed by the mutual fund brokers." Veronica Mersch apparently gave her new company, Mersch Asset Management Corp., a loan personal trades—orders Altamira. But one order the new OSC rules won't completely eliminate unethical behavior: "You can't legislate honesty," he cautions. Nor can greed be divorced from the stock market.

JENNIFER HUNTER is a Vancouver

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Business NOTES

BEEBLE BREAKDOWN

Volkswagen recalled its New Beetle for repairs, barely a month after the vehicle's high-profile launch. Volkswagen said it needs to fix a wiring problem to avert possible engine fires. No accidents or injuries have resulted from the snafu. New Beetle owners are being notified by express mail.

JOB CUTS AT CTV

The CTV Television Network cut 334 jobs to consolidate its operations with the Baton Broadcasting System, which took over the network last fall. The union representing workers said the cuts, which affected managers, reporters and other employees, will result in less local news coverage.

BANK CLOSURES BEGIN

The Bank of Nova Scotia began closing branches acquired last year in its takeover of National Trustco Inc. Scotiabank chief financial officer Robert Chisholm said the bank plans to close 40 of the 173 branches over the next 15 months, but National Trust employees will not lose their jobs. Most of the branches are in Ontario.

SABIE DEAL SEALED

Mobil Oil Canada Properties, Shell Canada Ltd. and Imperial Oil Ltd. announced a deal to carry out future oil-energy exploration on the Scotian Shelf near Nova Scotia's Sable Island gas field. The deal gives Mobil and Shell a 49-per-cent working interest in the exploration program, and Imperial 25 per cent. Oil companies are expected to spend \$90 million exploring the area over the next five years.

INTERNET ADS SKYROCKET

Canadian spending on Internet ads jumped 500 per cent in 1996, according to a survey conducted for the new Internet Advertising Bureau of Canada. The bureau predicts Internet advertising will grow to \$22.9 million this year.

ATS SUES FORMER CHIEF

Alberta Treasury Services sued the privately owned bank's former chief executive, alleging he took bribes in return for approving inappropriate loans. Alvin Lecky sued as the Edmonton-based bank's acting superintendent for two years before stepping down in September, 1996. Lecky has not yet filed a statement of defence.

A showdown in software

Microsoft Corp. delayed shipping the latest version of its popular Windows software to computer makers in an effort to avert planned antitrust lawsuits by the U.S. justice department and at least 29 states. The Seattle-based software giant said the move, announced one day before shipments were to start, will not affect plans to begin retail sales of Windows 98 on June 25. An official letter with the talks between Microsoft and state and federal antitrust officials and the software maker offered "major concessions" to defuse concerns that it is using its dominance in operating systems to stifle competition in the market for Internet browsers—



Gates, delayed shipping to avert lawsuits

software used to view information on the World Wide Web. Details of Microsoft's offer were not clear. The antitrust suits, if successful, would limit Microsoft's ability to add new features to Windows.

Raid by investigators

Members of the FBI's organized crime strike force pounced on the head office of YBM Magnex International Inc., a Philadelphia-based magnet maker whose stock is held by several large Canadian mutual funds. The agents hunted every drawer of documents, but refused to explain the nature of their inquiry, describing it only as a "criminal investigation." The Ontario Securities Commission (OSC) abruptly halted trading in YBM shares, which are included in the Toronto Stock Exchange's 300 composite index. "The company," said Owen Mitchell, a YBM director and an executive with Toronto-based First

Meridian Securities Ltd., "is not aware of anything that would cause it to be under scrutiny."

The raid sent shock waves through Bay Street, where some major brokerages have helped the magnet maker raise money, including ScotiaMcLeod Inc., Gordon Capital Corp. and First Meridian. YBM's rapid growth has made it popular with investors, including such mutual funds as the Strategic Equity Growth fund and the G1 Special Growth fund. Its trading shares reached a 52-week peak of \$20.15 two months ago, but closed at \$14.35 when trading halted. The company, listed on the Alberta Stock Exchange prior to the TSE, has operations in the United States, Russia and Hungary.

FINANCIAL OUTLOOK

The Canadian dollar dropped as much as three-quarters of a cent after Bank of Canada Governor Gordon Thomson predicted industrial prices will remain unchanged this year. Low oil prices make Canadian dollars less attractive to international investors, undercutting their value. The dollar closed the week at 69.04 (U.S.). Thomson said that a weak economic growth rate of 3.9 per cent through mid-1999 may make it necessary to boost rates early next year to keep inflation in bay.

In April, rising prices remained a distant threat

Thanks to auto rebates and lower prices for meat and women's clothes, the country's annual inflation rate fell to 0.8 per cent in April, down from 0.9 per cent in March.

"Further Canadian dollar weakness may well be in store," Thomson said.



stores, especially with the risk of U.S. monetary policy shifts." —TD Bank

"Notwithstanding the favourable outlook, however, it is only a matter of time before the [Canadian] bank is forced into hiking rates yet again to defend the sinking dollar." —Nesbitt Burns

"Most of the deflationary influences are in the consumer price index. By the third quarter, we should see an acceleration in inflation towards the two-per-cent mark by early 1999." —ScotiaMcLeod

Peter C. Newman

Not all financial CEOs favor bank mergers

In this age of bank mergers and worship of bigness in all its shapes, intentions, a few voices are being raised that claim other criteria ought to define the future. One is that of Bank of Nova Scotia chief executive Peter C. Newman, who maintains that the Big Five banks ought not to become the Big Two and a Half, as the Wall Street Journal's configuration. God so claims that the well-acknowledged all that he really can do, simply by being smarter instead of bigger.

Another voice is the more clear in that of Dominic D'Alessandro, president and chief executive of the Manufacturers Life Insurance Co., which is in the process of turning itself into a full-fledged financial institution and wants to retain its independence in the new global environment. "Why the hell don't we let Citibank come up here to buy the Canadian and allow Deutsche Bank to buy the U.S. and we'll all be happy," he demanded successfully when I dropped into his Toronto office recently. "We could make the argument," he adds, "that this is the best way to lower the banks' unit costs."

He speaks easily, but this is a subject that claims D'Alessandro's anger, as he spits out his comments on the subject in short, emotional bursts. "Of course, if that happened, we wouldn't have a country. To say that Canada, with 30 million people, should have financial institutions the same size as countries 10 times our size is crazy. Crazy. What are the banks merging really all about? Are we getting value? Are these guys creating jobs? Are they competing? Is our society all that we want it to be? There's no evidence, none, that in the financial services sector we're falling behind anybody. On the contrary. The opposite is true."

The Montreal CEO, who has been in the job since January, 1994, has tried the company's operating income and nearly quadrupled its net profits. It is a global company now with assets of more than \$80 billion and 18,000 employees in 15 countries.

D'Alessandro's career is a good example of how Canada's business leadership is changing. Manufacturers has traditionally been an old-line Establishment firm, having been founded by Sir John A. Macdonald in 1887, and headed for years by members of the Good-enough family, various Canadian bankers and other Establishment businessmen. D'Alessandro was born in Italy 50 years ago and came to Canada at the age of 3 with a family of no means. His father, a construction worker, died when he was 6, and his mother had to raise four children all under 13, by herself. He worked hard, eventually studied math and physics at Montreal's Loyola College and later, across town, at McGill University. Having earned an accounting degree in night school, he joined Coopers and Lybrand which sent him to Paris for a year. D'Alessandro then moved to Genstar, a Canadian conglomerate, where he spent two years in San Francisco as vice-president of its materials and construction

group. In 1980, he returned to Montreal and a job in the finance department of the Royal Bank, seven years into the job, he was executive vice-president of finance of the bank, and was a candidate to succeed Allan Taylor as chairman. "The Royal was quite a WASP institution when I started there," he recalls. "A fellow called Bob Young once asked me if I was Italian and when I admitted I was, he said that he was from Niagara Falls and that there were a lot of Italians there, most of them gardeners. That kind of stereotyping really pissed me off, so I told him that my grandfather's name was Chuck, and that I would ask him if he was from Niagara Falls. We got along famously after that."

When John Cleghorn got the top job at the Royal, D'Alessandro left to become president and CEO of the much smaller Laurentian Bank, where he had a successful five-year run. As Quebec's nationalistic Claude Desjardins moved in to tighten his control of the Laurentian, D'Alessandro moved to Montreal, where he has been shaking things up ever since. He shed underperforming assets, engineered a merger with North American Life Assurance Co. and cleaned up the balance sheet. "We've got a really nice company now," D'Alessandro says.

At the moment, his main priority is to denationalize the firm. That would mean it would no longer be owned by its policyholders, but could become a regular multinational financial institution, its shares openly traded and able to raise money on the financial markets. "It would have allowed Montreal to make a bid for London Life, for example," D'Alessandro points out, "because we could have issued shares and done outside financing. Today, the nationalistic system contains the seeds of its own demise. The absence of market discipline that forces you to be efficient will eventually cause you to be complacent and underinvest in your business. That means your company can end up being mediocre."

He is also well aware of the danger of demoralization, which risks the insurance companies of the protection of being owned by their stockholders, and places them right out there as desirable takeover targets. He has been at the forefront of the insurance industry's lobbying Ottawa for a five-year, post-demoralization ownership protection clause, which would protect a company from takeover for five years after demoralization takes place, and he will probably get it.

D'Alessandro is an increasingly important player in the Canadian money game. He is no longer a banker and doesn't particularly want to be one again, and yet once Montreal is demoralized, there will be few banking functions his company will not be able to perform.

The four banks wanting to get married, keep telling us that only by merging can they safely tread into the 21st century. And yet it is from financial institutions like Montreal, right in their own backyards, that they will have to face new and intense competition.

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Software on demand

A self-proclaimed "techno-freak," Halifax resident Steve Weagle spends as many as eight hours a day on the Internet. But like many cyber-junkies, the 39-year-old Weagle had a long-standing complaint: the agonizingly slow dial-up connections and page downloads afforded by conventional telephone modems. So when Weagle, who runs a small photo-mixing business, learned that Halifax-based Maritime Telegraph and Telephone Co. was preparing to unveil one of the world's fastest Internet connections—20 times quicker than a standard 28.8-kilobits-per-second modem—he eagerly signed on. Once aboard, Weagle became intrigued by a feature that distinguishes MT&T's service, known as MpoweredTV, from other high-speed systems: the ability to rent, on demand, a wide array of software. "I'm pretty excited," says Weagle, who estimates that, between business and pleasure, he spends as much as \$5,000 a year on software. "It feels like maybe I've bought my last software package."

In recent years, a growing number of telephone and cable companies have introduced expensive high-speed Internet connections for home and business use. But when MT&T pioneered the challenge early last year, it took a different cast. Speed, the company decided, was not an end in itself but a means to creating a unique market niche. "I looked at it from a Maritimer's point of view," explains Murray Sharma, MT&T's chief technology officer. "I don't have a lot of money. I'm stuck out here. What, other than accessing the Internet, makes speed good? What else does any customer buy on a day-to-day basis? Well, there's software."

Mpowered users have access to an on-line software library with the option of "borrowing" any given program on its hourly, weekly or yearly basis. Software packages from companies such as Corel and Lotus that might retail for hundreds of dollars can be rented for as little as 75 cents an hour. That way, parents can let their children take a computer game or an educational program for a trial run before making a costly invest-

A Maritime telephone company is offering Web surfers more than just speed



ment. Similarly, a perplexed taxpayer could rent the latest income tax software for as long as it takes to complete his or her return. In addition to the software library, subscribers receive a high-speed link to the Internet that enables surfing from one Web site to another almost as easy and quick as pushing a button on a TV remote control. The Mpowered package costs \$45 a month plus \$150 for installation—roughly what other Canadian telephone and cable companies charge for high-speed access alone.

The concept of pay-per-use software did not originate with MT&T. Among others, a long-defunct Ottawa company, NABU Manufacturing Corp., had floated the idea in the early 1980s. But the technology to make it happen—in particular, the high-speed connections required for software downloads—had not yet been invented.

Once MT&T settled on the goal of providing customers with software on demand, it sought out partners who could help the company achieve it. Florida-based Paradigm agreed to fast-track work it was doing on high-speed modems. At the time, says Sharma, the world's fastest modems were running at 1.5 megabits, within a few months Paradigm delivered a modem that could function at a stunning seven megabits. Similarly, Toronto-based Novell Canada gave MT&T access to its patented applications layer—or a key component in allowing software to be rented by the hour, week or year. (When the customer's time runs out, the software gives them an option to extend their time or exit from the program.)

MT&T moved quickly to deploy the technology. Company executives ordered the project in March, 1990; by August they had launched the first trial run. Mpowered became available on a subscription basis in the Halifax area in early April and now has more than 900 customers. The service is scheduled to expand throughout Nova Scotia within a year. Rick Broadhead, co-owner of The Canadian Internet Handbook, says MT&T's launch of a software-rental service "is bang on" from a marketing standpoint. Broadhead notes that many people balk at the prices charged for high-speed Internet access. "They need to see they are getting value for their money. In that regard, the software library makes a lot of sense."

Mpowered is, in fact, part of a trend towards network computing, which in time should make it possible for individuals and companies to shed expensive hardware and software in favor of stripped-down computers connected to a central server. Sharma, who worked with several small computer firms before joining MT&T 16 months ago, puts it this way: "You always end up if you employ more than eight people, you have to hire a geek to leverage the equipment for you and make it run. Now, you don't need that geek. We can give you all the software and expertise you need."

Sharma adds that recent advances in high-speed modems and network computing promise to lead to further breakthroughs in areas such as telemedicine and electronic commerce—not to mention computer games. For the time being, though, customers such as Steve Weagle are grateful—and surprised—the technology has landed in their corner of the market. "I'm very shocked that Nova Scotia has been a leader in this," he says. "I sometimes have to pinch myself to believe it's true." Cyber-junkies, take note.

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Martin and Underhill time to say goodbye after a good long slide

Skating away with style

They are still fit, and have the hunger to compete. But former world pairs champions Barbara Underhill and Paul Martin are retiring after 20 years on the international figure-skating scene. The decision was easy: both wanted to quit while they were still at their peaks. "We could skate for another 10 years and make a decent living," says Underhill, "but why?" Besides, they've had a good long ride. Underhill, from Ottawa, Ont., and Martin, from Woodbridge, Ont., won their first international title, the world junior championships, in 1978. Their senior world title—the high point of their partnership—came in a spirited performance in 1984, just after a disappointing seventh-place Olympic showing in Sarajevo left them close to quitting. "We weren't even talking to one another," Underhill remembers.

They have been fixtures on the professional circuit ever since, and are excited by the prospect of doing something new. "I'm 38 years old and skating is all I've ever done," Martin explains. That said, the father of two kids with his wife, Elizabeth, is already coaching other skaters and working on CBC skating telecasts, while Underhill, 35, does skating commentary for CTV. The mother of two (she is married to Rick Giesse) is devoting more time to the Sorghus Gutsy Kids Safe Foundation, an organization promoting child safety that was named after her daughter, who drowned at age eight months in the family's backyard swimming pool five years ago.

The skaters plan to bow out in style. Former U.S. Olympic champion Scott Brundage and Brian Boitano will join them at Toronto's National Ballet Orchestra. In 1983, with grants they received from the Canada Council and the Ontario Arts Council, Johnston started to commission original works from Canadian composers, some of which have made it onto her three CDs. Johnston is often compared to Scottish percussionist Evelyn Glennie. "I admire her so much," she says of the deaf artist, often billed as the first lady of solo percussion. "She gives me courage to do solo work." Next month, Johnston will be giving solo recitals in Vancouver and Halifax, and she will appear this fall in Stockholm. How much longer does she expect this best time in her life to last? She answers with a smile. "Until I die."

Knock on wood

For some people, turning 40 signifies the beginning of the end. For Beverly Johnston, one of the world's top contemporary percussionists, it has unfolded in the best time of her life. "It is only now," she says, "that everything has come together with my playing." The Montreal native's road to fame started almost three decades ago. Drawn to percussion in Grade 7 by its "amazing sound and physicality," Johnston went on to study music at the University of Toronto. There she developed a special affection for the marimba, which is best described as a wooden xylophone. "It sounds so mellow," Johnston says as she plays her marimba, which occupies the dining room

Johnston: the best time of her musical life



of her suburban Toronto house. "And the wood, it's like getting back to nature." After graduating in 1980, she signed on with Toronto's National Ballet Orchestra. In 1983, with grants they received from the Canada Council and the Ontario Arts Council, Johnston started to commission original works from Canadian composers, some of which have made it onto her three CDs.

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'King of the Hill'

BY BARRY CAHILL

Of Blue Eyes probably put it best himself, in that simplest word with the most meaning. He was, quite simply, "King of the Hill, top of the heap." He occupied the commanding heights of the popular music scene in America for decades, a durable performer whose long career onstage was as celebrated as his suitably life-size stage and screen personas. The melodies—and the lyrics—he popularized over the course of almost 60 years have been woven into the cultural fabric of his nation's—and far beyond. They have become as familiar, and as comfortable, as a pair of old but sturdy shoes. So even though he died of a heart attack last week in Los Angeles, at the age of 82, Frank Sinatra's legacy will endure.

Who else but Sinatra could issue behind not one but a dozen signature tunes spread among his more than 200 albums? Each captures a facet of the singer's charismatic nature, as well as underlines his astonishing range. In the 1940s, he was a big-band vocalist with Tommy Dorsey's orchestra, a sleazy low in a foggy low in driving screaming tenor bobby-soxers into vocos with romantic ballads like *I'll Never Smile Again*. In the 1950s, he was carefully measured in *Swing My Way* with his. A decade later, his darker side emerged. *My Way* celebrated the defiant streak of adolescent independence that was then becoming his trademark. In an even more somber vein, *One for My Baby* uncovers a bruised, world-weary 34 in melancholy that was clearly the result of Sinatra's increasingly troubled personal life. "The atmosphere of a guy making a drink, sitting in a bar, can be wrenching," he remarked at the time in a rare, revealing public comment. "I suppose I've experienced just that scene many times, and perhaps it's why this song is so meaningful to me."

Despite his public success, Sinatra was no stranger to private woe. He was born on Dec. 12, 1915, in Hoboken, N.J. Various biographies, especially *Kelly Kelley's 1986* *My Way: The Unauthorized Biography of Frank Sinatra*, paint an unflattering portrait of the singer's parents. Kelly described his mother, Dolly, as ambitious and domineering, while his father, who owned and oper-

ated the Hoboken saloon where young Francis Albert first sang in public, is dismissed as weak and passive. It was Dolly, a gambler by trade, who engineered Frank's rise to early stardom as a teenage idol. By the time he was 25, he was already known, a regular on the radio and singing with Dorsey's orchestra and Harry James's band. He had also married his teenage sweetheart, Nancy Barbato, and fathered two daughters—Nancy and Tina—and a son, Frank Jr.

The marriage broke down after 12 years in the face of Sinatra's notorious infidelities. Chief among these was a transgressive, highly public and ultimately doomed relationship with the glamorous Ava Gardner, whom he married in 1951. When the actress, the second of his four wives, divorced him six years later after running off to Spain with a couple of childporn, Sinatra was said to have fluffed with suicide. According to Nelson Fiddle, one of Sinatra's best musical arrangers, it was Gardner who "taught him how to sing a torch song. She was the greatest love of his life and he lost her."

Meanwhile, Sinatra's career had taken some surprising turns. He was virtually washed up when an acting role revived his glori-



Sinatra and former U.S. president John F. Kennedy (left) with Sam Byrd (above, left) and Sam Byrd (right) at Carnegie Hall, 1961; and Sam Byrd in *Rehearsal* (1945); a legend

Ol' Blue Eyes did it his way on and off the stage



With *Mangrove* GHT in 1957's *From Here to Eternity* (above) and 21-year-old wife, actress Mita Farrow, in 1955, Sinatra's photo of the singer on a movie set (below) a celebrated career that spanned six decades—and a restless personal life

One of his last concert performances (opposite) with second wife, Ava Gardner, in 1951: "She was the greatest love of his life" singing popularly. His last notable performance as Angelo Maggio, the war-cracking soldier murdered in the 1952 movie *From Here to Eternity*, won him an Oscar. Other roles in other films followed, among them *Mpt Society* (1959) and *The Manchurian Candidate* (1962). In all, he appeared in 66 films. His success as an actor propelled his return as a singer. It was during this period that many of his masterworks were recorded: *Songs for Swingers* (1956), *Come Fly with Me* (1958), *That's Life* and *Swingers in the Night* (1960), and *My Way* (1969).

Behind all of the failures, however, Sinatra's reputation continued to suffer as a result of some of the darker aspects of his personal life. There was another scandalous marriage, this time a two-year affair with



actress Mia Farrow, then 21 years old. (His fourth and last marriage was in 1976, to Barbara Marx, co-writer of *Zorro*, the young girl of the Marx Brothers comedy family.) For more than 40 years his past was his identity, associated with Mafia figures, in particular Chicago gangster boss Sam Giancana. In 1963, the Nevada Gaming Commission stripped Sinatra of his license to operate a casino in Lake Tahoe. The FBI investigated, accumulating charges of intimidating wiretaps, forcing powerful political cronies, led by the Kennedy clan, to distance themselves.

By the time he died, however, Sinatra's peccadilloes, including his wife-murder conviction, had receded from view. He had gained a new generation of fans, recording duets with younger singers in 1953 and 1966. On the occasion of his 40th birthday, he was featured on nationwide TV by an audience that included all of Hollywood's elite. In the end, it was only *Ol' Blue Eyes* who counted, the consummate crooner who set the standard by which all of his peers will continue to be judged. □

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Justice

Affair of the court

A juror became a defendant's lover in a B.C. case

There is an Alice in Wonderland quality to the trial that began last week in Vancouver. Along one side of a high-backed B.C. Superior Court chamber, six men and six women sit in the red upholstered chairs of the jury box, eyes flicking now and again over a tall, strawberry-blond woman seated beside her lawyer at table six metres away. Three years ago, she sat in a nearly identical box on floor below, as a member of a jury hearings land-murder trial. Now, 35-year-old Gillian Goss is herself a defendant in a trial without precedent in Canada, accused of improperly influencing her 16 fellow jurors to render an acquittal in that 1995 case. As Crown prosecutor Joe Bellows put his case, Goss, "while serving as a juror, had a personal relationship with one of the accused, Personal Script Gill, that included an intimate, romantic and sexual relationship." The affair, Bellows said, led Goss to "attempt to obstruct, pervert or defeat the course of justice."



Goss outside court, her last page photo (left). *Sharon Lee*



charged a total of six men, including Gill, in connection with the two murders, alleging that the killings were part of a bar war between two gangs of drug dealers.

When the charges against Gill and the others, including admitted cocaine dealer Brady Jahn, went to trial the following year, Goss was a member of the jury. The prosecution's case, however, quickly began to falter. Defence lawyers successfully challenged the testimony of two key eyewitnesses to the younger Dossing's killing, discrediting during a week to the crime scene that at least one of them could not possibly have seen the events to which he had testified. In late October, 1995, Goss and her fellow jurors returned a unanimous verdict of not guilty on both murder counts for all six of the accused.

A week later, Goss and Gill were dancing together at a nightclub on Vancouver's Granville Island. But that was not the first indication that the two had developed a relationship. Last week, former court reporter Emma Hyde testified that she and other staff at the 1995 trial had been so alarmed by what she called "bizarre" behavior between

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WHAT MATTERS TO CANADIANS

JUSTICE

Gruen and Gill is court that she had brought it to the attention of the judge. He is now worried Gill's lawyer to keep her clients—five on bail at the time—away from members of the jury. Within two weeks of the trial's conclusion, a police surveillance team observed Gill spending the night with Gruen at her North Vancouver townhouse. According to Bellows, police then obtained permission to tap Gruen's telephone and place wire-tap probes in her home. Tape recordings of what they overheard, Bellows said, will be entered in evidence against Gruen. "You will hear Miss Gruen herself admit," he told jurors, "she had a personal, romantic and sexual relationship with Mr. Gill during the trial."

Gruen denies that. While she admitted during pre-trial proceedings that she fell in love with Gill, nine years her junior, during the 1996 trial, she also insists the relationship did not become physical until after that trial ended. The relationship ended, she says, when she was ordered not to see Gill after her arrest in May, 1996. In a television interview shortly after the verdicts, in which Gruen's identity was concealed, she also defended the anti-gossip verdicts, asserting that the Crown had failed to prove its case against the six accused members. That claim may now form part of her defence strategy. In cross-examining witnesses during the opening week of Gruen's trial, defence counsel Peter Blakes appeared to be calling attention to perceived weaknesses of the Crown's case against Gill and the others—potentially laying the ground for the argument that if justice was served in 1996, Gruen could not have suborned it by making a lover of a copkiller. Legal observers' might question that line of reasoning. Regardless of whether the acquittals were just, notes Simon Fraser University psychologist James O'Neil, "the appearance of justice is as important as the decision that is ultimately carried out." Adds O'Neil, who has a law degree and studies the behavior of jurors: "It's not entirely unreasonable that a single person could turn the others around."

The trials expected to take several weeks—including a three-day adjournment at the end of May to allow a juror to make a previously arranged trip to Disneyland with his wife. Last week, trial judge Raymond Paris ordered Gruen to stop posting comments about the proceedings on her personal Webpage, illustrated with images from the Disney version of *Alvin*. Gruen—who coincidentally once had a bit part as a juror in a TV movie, filmed in the courtroom where Gill was tried—complied, but continued to post e-mail from some of the 2,500-plus visits to the site. Meanwhile, a Crown appeal of the acquittals in the murder case is expected to be heard later this year. Prosecutors will not say if their strategy in any way depends on the verdict in the case against Gruen.

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In last year's Cinnegagh competition—a unique, non-rated contest that is slowly spreading across the country—seven of the eight projects in the Montreal area were by female students. In the Toronto area this year, five of the six winners were all or largely female teams. The winners, Anna Abomren and Shikha Watsnabe of Linbrook Collegiate Institute, are trying to find the chemical that determines why a particular strain of *E. coli* bacteria in hamburger disease affects children and the aged, but not most adults. “We took our idea from what wasn’t known and went from there,” says Watsnabe. “The excitement of working in a real hospital lab is incredible. It is not like a high-school lab project where you have an expected outcome.”

Why so many girls? “Well, it’s perceived as a clean course, unlike auto mechanics,” says teacher Patricia Beecham, head of the biotech program at Marygrove Collegiate Institute in Toronto’s west end. “It’s high-tech, cutting-edge and relevant.”

Also, Beecham says, “for teenage students, maybe girls especially, it’s more likely you are contributing something to the world.”

But this is not a competition designed primarily for girls or for science, says William Mink, a biochemist at Ontario’s Seneca College who set up the competition for Toronto-based Cinnegagh five years ago. “It started something that would reflect the principle of science,” he says.

He assembled a high-profile team of corporate and hospital research scientists to “tear apart” the high-school proposals before they are submitted. The ones with merit are given more modest seed money and, most notably, a corporate mentor to help with the research. Branson and Ledoux had access to AgriSearch Canada’s research farm in Ottawa, in Toronto, Alkimos and Watsnabe travelled downtown to the Hospital for Sick Children labs after school and on weekends to test their hypotheses. The Cinnegagh technique has now spread to Ottawa, London, Montreal and St. John’s, Nfld., and some U.S. cities too, and Mink says he is hoping to break into Western Canada next year.

One of the biggest challenges is getting teachers up to speed with their most eager students. One of Mink’s innovations has been to offer high-achieved teachers free five-day courses at Toronto’s Mount Sinai Hospital on how to close a paper. “Teachers like this,” Mink says. “Now, they say, I know what my students are talking about.”



Pioneering teenagers

Young scientists make waves

Three years ago, Julien Branson's younger brother decided to put salt-water plants in his freshwater aquarium and was baffled by the white film that drifted to the top of the tank. With these humble beginnings, Julien, now a 17-year-old high-school senior at College catholique Samuel Genest in Ottawa, began a three-year science experiment that may take him halfway around the world. Branson and fellow student Jean-Sebastien Ledoux, the seventh year fine arts at Ottawa's Connaught Secondary Exhibition, are looking for bacteria that appear to help plants cope with the effects of salt. But perhaps more important than the \$2,000 prize was instant recognition: corporate scientists have been requesting samples of the culture, one of the judges urged the students to grant a patent on their discovery as quickly as possible, and a local agency in the Philip-ines has invited the boys for a week, all expenses paid, to explain their research. “These guys were thinking of something they could spray on leaves so that when the scorpions poked up salt, the grass would

come back in the spring,” says Paul Morley, the National Research Council scientist who co-organized the Ottawa exhibition. “Now, science in the Philippines is interested because when the typhoons come and spray the fields with salt water, this bacteria might be used to help clean up.” Or even, if it can be genetically inserted into the rice, help the crop survive on its own.

Branson and Ledoux are orphans, although not because of their success. In recent years, Canadian high-school students have shown a remarkable awareness, creating a “green” Walkman that runs on wind-up gears, a plastic gel where the pores can be manipulated to stretch different sized substances, even a new heart valve. Vice-Inventor Andrea Wan of Burnaby, B.C., one of 18 high school students representing Canada last week at the half-sponsored International Science and Exposition Fair in Port Wauke, Tex., has already earned more than \$200,000 in university scholarships.

Rather, Branson and Ledoux are more—at least in the emerging, heavily financed world of biotechnology—because they are making

the assembly high-profile team of corporate and hospital research scientists to “tear apart” the high-school proposals before they are submitted. The ones with merit are given more modest seed money and, most notably, a corporate mentor to help with the research. Branson and Ledoux had access to AgriSearch Canada’s research farm in Ottawa, in Toronto, Alkimos and Watsnabe travelled downtown to the Hospital for Sick Children labs after school and on weekends to test their hypotheses. The Cinnegagh technique has now spread to Ottawa, London, Montreal and St. John’s, Nfld., and some U.S. cities too, and Mink says he is hoping to break into Western Canada next year.

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PROVINCE

COUNTRY

A Canadian film-maker steps out at the world's splashiest festival

French connection

I'm a hot, hunkin' Friday in Cannes. On the Croisette, the faded seaside promenade on the French Riviera, film producers in black tuxes, cell phones held to their ears, wave their way through the horde of buyers, critics, actors, journalists, journalists and gossips who habitually descend on the Cannes film festival. The wedding-cake steps of the Palais, the festival's hunkin' headquarter, shrouded in red carpet, are lined down fresh red carpet. Nearby, a quartet of expatriate Americans has stopped to play for passers-by: the bassist in the turquoise shirt croons a more-than-passable impression of Frank Sinatra, who died hours earlier. Down the street, screaming fans press against street barricades around Planet Hollywood, where Blues Brothers Dan Aykroyd and B. B. King mine dancehall for its outdoor "blues off" of several hundred coasties. Sidely anonymous in the crowd, Dan McKellar, a Canadian star, threads his way through the midships.

He has just got off the plane. Dressed and dressed from jet lag, he is left to his first Cannes party, and is soon slipping champagne on Astoria under a white plastic poncho on the beach. Like so many others at the 53rd Cannes International Film Festival, McKellar has

come to promote a movie. It is a small movie about the end of the world titled *Last Night*, not to be confused with a much larger movie premiering at Cannes called *Armageddon*. And McKellar is its writer, director and star. Commanding the attention of 4,000 people at the world's largest media event is not easy.

There is an early buzz about *Last Night*, which has already secured five critics in Paris. But unlike corporate David Cronenberg, who inspired Cannes two years ago with *Cooler*, and Atom Egoyan, who was the toast of the Croisette last year with *The Sweet Hereafter*, McKellar arrives with a decidedly lower profile. *Last Night* is being shown in the Directors' Fortnight, and although it is the top prize for a young director to make his feature debut, it lacks the glitz of official competition. This year Canada failed to win a spot in the competition. To the surprise of many, the year's most anticipated movie, *The End of the World*—a sweeping epic that McKellar co-wrote with Montreal director Patrice Gaudy—was rejected.

Aside from *Last Night*, however, three other Canadian feature debuts are premiering in sidebar programs at Cannes. Also in the Directors' Fortnight, Toronto film-makers Jack Shain and Sharon

Corder unveil *Certainly*, a drama about a mother-daughter sexual rivalry. In *Un Certain Regard*, another non-competition category, Montreal writer-director Lucie Miller presents the 32nd anniversary (April 30th on earth), starring Pascale Bussières in a canonical scene wedding with whether to conceive a child. And director Nicholas Kozlov is being featured in Cannes Junior, a showcase for children's films.

But McKellar's *Last Night* is the most prominent Canadian prospect at the festival. At 54, he has already cut a swath through the Canadian film scene. He scripted and starred in Bruce McDonald's first two features, *Roadkill* and *Highway 62*. He wrote himself a starring role as a TV-acted slacker in McDonald's all-time well series *Tulsi City*, which aired on the CBC earlier this year. He also co-wrote Gaudy's highly acclaimed *Thirteen Short Films about Glenn Gould* (2004) and acted in Atom Egoyan's *Enigma* (1996).

For *Last Night*, he assembled an extraordinary cast, a who's who of Canadian talent that includes Cronenberg, Genevieve Bujald, Sandra Oh, Sarah Polley, Colleen Keith, Ronit, Tracy Wright and Jackie Burroughs. Considering the director he just worked with—Cronenberg, Egoyan, McDonald and Patricia Rozema—McKellar's career has become a kind of track record for Canadian cinema. He may also possess one of its most distinctive personalities. Applying his theoretical brand of Canadian wit to scrutable roles as screenwriter, actor and now director, he has forged an idiosyncratic style that is all his own—and certainly Canadian. "He's got this strange, understated charm," says director Cronenberg, who gave McKellar a major role in his new 3D science fiction movie, *Avatar*, currently shooting in Toronto. "You really can't stop watching him when he's on screen, and it's very hard to figure out why exactly, aside from the fact that he's a very intelligent and thoughtful actor."

Last Night proves that he is also an exceptional director. The film, which probably isn't Canadian cinema in the full, plays like the existential flip side of a Hollywood disaster movie. The premise is that the world is going to end at midnight, which is just four hours away. No explanation is given as to why the world is about to end, but the fact that the sun is still shining at night "seems to suggest some major planetary alignment problem." Set in Toronto, the story tracks the lives of a dozen people trying to go through with carefully arranged plans for the perfect last night of their lives. But the city sun-chases, with public services collapsed, stores abandoned and citizens running the streets. It is a New Year's Eve from hell.

McKellar's *Last Night* is a disaster flick—probably his warmest-hearted movie, *Deep Impact*, *Armageddon*—*Last Night* has no characters being saved the planet. People have knowledge and is coming for several months, and they aren't resigned to it. "Personality," says McKellar, "the Bruce Willis are out there stopping the end of the world somehow. I thought of this like the first half of a disaster movie, where you set up all the characters. I've always wondered about all those people who just die in mass in *Independence*

Day. And the mechanical side—what would it be like, what would you actually do? Because the character is trying to hold on to his second chance. Sandra Oh is desperately trying to get across town to be with her husband. And Cronenberg plays a pro conspiracy employee phoning customers to reassure them that his job will remain on until the end. McKellar's character, meanwhile, just wants to be alone, on his road, with the right music.

The story unfolds with McKellar's typically dark, quirky humor. But what is so unexpected is its emotional power. The comic irony dissolves the viewer so unexpectedly that when the tone finally turns serious, it is inconceivably moving. "It just swells up on you," says Cronenberg. "People are going to be crying and part of them won't know why. When I saw the first cut, I just burst out at the Hollywood movies that you get sent on tape to vote for the Academy Awards. And I thought *Last Night* was better than all of them. I think it's going to surprise a lot of people."

But it is a small film, costing about \$2 million. And unlike Cronenberg, who Egoyan, whose Cannes premiere were recently noted by Alliance Entertainment and its Hollywood CEO, Robert Lantos, *Last Night* is produced by a much smaller Toronto-based

McKellar, casting a swath at *Last Night's* writer, director and star



Sandra Oh is a scene from *Last Night*, trying for a perfect evening before the world ends at midnight

company, Rhombus Media. "It's a little anxious," says McKellar. "Rhombus has to spend a lot of money. It has to hire publicists and get posters and have a little party. Part of the problem is that they're following the Alliance tradition with Robert's paternalistic and his big surges. I just hope they will let the film and don't get good reviews. I don't want to sink them." McKellar laughs. "Cannes is the cheapest festival in the world, you know. They don't pay for anything. I think they buy me, the director, a Borneo salad."

A few weeks before his departure for Cannes, McKellar answers the door at his Toronto apartment. It is noon, and he has just gotten up, his hair still wet from the shower. His place sits at the top of a dilapidated set of stairs above a Chinese restaurant in Kensington Market, the inner-city neighborhood where McKellar has lived for 10 years, and which served as the setting for *Tulsi*

FILMS

City this place looks like a cross between a student bachelor pad and a bohemian loft. Unfinished drywall with screwheads sticking out like moths. Scripts piled on the coffee table. Disco-disco, yard-sale furniture. Rotted-up canvases stacked in the corner. McKellar, in addition to everything else, paints. Two of his works are hung on the walls, pictures of a rabbit and one with a single swirl of color. There is also a huge photo of ex-Kenington King Al Waxman, who appeared in a homeless man in Timbuktu, Gh, dominating the dining room. And while down the hall is an ensuite bed with red-ogled blue walls slanted—inspired from the set of *Last Night*.

McKellar smokes hashish, and smokes overblacks through the pipes and fish scale of the market to a dramatic groovy space. As he orders fried eggs and coffee, his cell phone rings "It belongs to the production," he apologizes. "They made me use it."

McKellar seems allergic to anything that smacks of Hollywood glamour. "I've been to quite a few festivals," he says, "and you meet a lot of hot young filmmakers who are down to LA. They get a lot of money. They get a secretary, and you never hear from them again. Two, eight years later, they do some piece of crap." He adds, "I always thought I could do that. Americans called

after Highway 61. And not just little people, but studio heads and vice-presidents. Because they do that down there. They'd call—'Hey, we love what you're doing, keep us in mind'—but I never dove into that world. It wasn't even a temptation."

McKellar grew up surrounded by a healthy respect for art. His father, John, a corporate lawyer and actor, was on the boards of the Canada Council and vari-

McKellar has assembled a who's who of Canadian talent

ous theatres. His mother, Kay, is a retired teacher. One of three children, he was born and raised in North Toronto. In high school he began acting semiprofessionally with Child's Play Theatre, which performed for children. And as an arts undergraduate at Toronto's Victoria University, he became so immersed in theatre—from Shakespeare to

experimental improv—that he dropped out one credit short of graduating.

In 1989, with director Daniel Brooks and actress Tracy Wright, who became his girl friend for eight years—he founded Augusta Company, a theatre troupe with a collective ethos. "We were always co-writing, co-directing and performing together," he says. Then, he hooked up with a newer director, Bruce McDonald. "He offered me \$100 to write some scenes," McKellar recalls. "So at first, it was just a job."

McDonald and McKellar ended up launching each other's film careers. In their first movie, *Awake!*, an obscure rock 'n' roll odyssey into Northern Ontario, McKellar gave a memorably offbeat performance as a would-be serial killer, and won a Genie nomination for the screenplay. In *Highway 61*, he starred as a shy trumpet player who is killed after driving a vagabond girl and a cougar down to New Orleans. Then, *Eigenart* cast McKellar in the repressed, gay owner of a gay store in *Kambou*—a role that earned him a Genie.

On screen, McKellar projects a wonderfully awkward charm. There is a hesitancy in his acting, as if he has a deep fear of being trapped in what he is about to say. "I like seeing people think on film," he offers, by way of explanation. "It's partly my sense of humor—I find it funny." In *Thank City*, McDonald captured the actor's self-effacing magnetism in looting close-ups. But as his own director in *Last Night*, McKellar was nervous about training the camera on him self. "The first week, I kept postponing scenes where I'd have to act," he recalls. "Then it was pretty strange to be in the part, stop the scene, look back on a video monitor and analyze what you're doing. My editor pointed out to me at one point that I wasn't absorbing any close-ups of myself. I was reacting close-ups in general, which I like to think is a stylistic thing. But in some sense I was afraid of absorbing myself."

In *Canoe*, however, there is no room for shyness. McKellar has done his best to rise to the occasion. "I brought new dishes, and new glasses," he says, framing his champagne that first day in the *Canoe*, a party that history is looking to honor 100 years young productivity—marking the centennial of the *New Nation*. "That I need some work!" On leave from the set of *Awake!*, the actor has been told not to come back with a can. "I'm playing an anti-environmentalist Russian double agent," he explains, without bothering to explain just what that means. "The thing is, I'm supposed to look white and pretty." McKellar takes out a hairbrush and the blue cloth shades. "You know, I'm just realizing that these things sort of make things purple."

It may take McKellar a few more days in *Canoe* to figure out if that is good or bad. But he is ready for his closing. ☐

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Allan Fotheringham

A cozy conspiracy unites journalists and politicians

Well, perhaps we're getting somewhere in journalism. Perhaps, maybe, we can get back to the basics. Let's cut to the chase.

The news that the Province's Croteau in Ottawa have called the last headline report term should be the wake-up call. The arrogant manipulators in the Prime Minister's Office have recreated the Horsemen of the RCMP to chase down the terrible criminals in the offices of *The Globe and Mail* who, apparently are guilty of doing what they are paid to do—good reporting.

So terrified is the PMO of leaks—meaning the ones they don't leak—it wants a legal investigation as to how the paper found out about cabinet decisions involving department of justice rulings on young offenders, and the never-ending problem of dealing with out-of-control informants.

We thought that is what they did in Beijing or Moscow. But this in Ottawa, the town that has forgot, and government that is both arrogant and nervous—not an expression since its majority is down to live seats—cannot stand its secrets being revealed in the leakiest enclave in the land.

Journalism may be advanced because perhaps its progenitors are desperate to create distance from one of its more questionable habits. That is, not to identify high government functionaries who will talk only on the understanding that the names of the high government functionaries will not be revealed.

Informants and bemused newspaper readers see it every day in their favorite sheet. "An official who spoke on condition that he not be identified said..." blab-blah and so on. In that moment, the reader—with newspaper readership going down over the past decades in relation to the pop culture—reduces me there.

It is that the reporter and the politician are into the Stockholm Syndrome. The bank robber and the hostages he takes develop a symbiotic relationship. The guards in a penitentiary and the prisoners are in a bond more than either group is with ordinary society.

Journalists and politicians, as a pervasive book pointed out several years back, are "birds of a feather." They flock together. Veterans may think their perpetual enemies. It is nonsense, of course. On

any Friday night in Ottawa, near midnight, the best scenes in town are chowing down and holding glasses of burgundy in the darkest corners of the best restaurants in town with high-placed politicians. Or their aides. Or their flacks. That's how you get the info. That's where the leaks leak.

That's how you get the news. How you get the shmonie. Every one knows it. No one admits it. Birds of a feather don't tell.

It's why the guys and dolls in the Ottawa press policy might rethink their unspoken rule about allowing high-stuck-a-mules in the PMO to get away with their crowding about being attended as "a spokesman who cannot be identified." It is nonsense. The reporter knows it is nonsense. The reader, dumb or intelligent, by common sense knows it is nonsense.

The New York Times, the best newspaper on earth, does it all the time. So does *The Washington Post*, which depends—of course—on leaky cabinet ministers who leak all the good and juicy stuff that benefits them, naturally.

If newspapers, as they should, would identify "the spokesman" for what he is—usually a high deputy minister or well-placed confidant close to the president/prime minister, one of two things would happen.

One is that the leakers who depend on newspapers' *Faustian* deal with their sources would have to retreat into their underwear and their secrecy and never try this phoney approach to the news ever again.

The second is that newspaper readers—dying off to television first—might start believing in journalism integrity once again and believing what they read. Instead of "sources who can't be identified" leaking to the Great Unwashed that the scribblers are in bed with the politicians—since they all play the same game.

Journalism is a strange game—the "black art" as Kipling called it, it all depends on trust with the reader. Once the trust is lost, there is no reporting it. Papers these days waste a great deal about running correction columns on page 1, explaining that a story on Mary McCormack yesterday got her street address wrong.

No one reads those things any more, because the mind-gazing triviality of the "error" is so boring that it moves you on to the sports scores or Ann Landers.

The real problem of newspapers is that they won't address the actual problem of why their readership is falling with the general population. They don't level with the reader. They write that "an official who cannot be named" and blab-blah. Why should a subscriber accept that sort of nonsense?

You wouldn't accept that from a neighbor or a bar mate who told you a juicy piece of gossip. Why would you accept it from *The New York Times* or *The Washington Post* or *The Globe and Mail*?

Get serious, chaps. Level with your readers. Or you'll lose them. Sure as God made little green apples.



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